



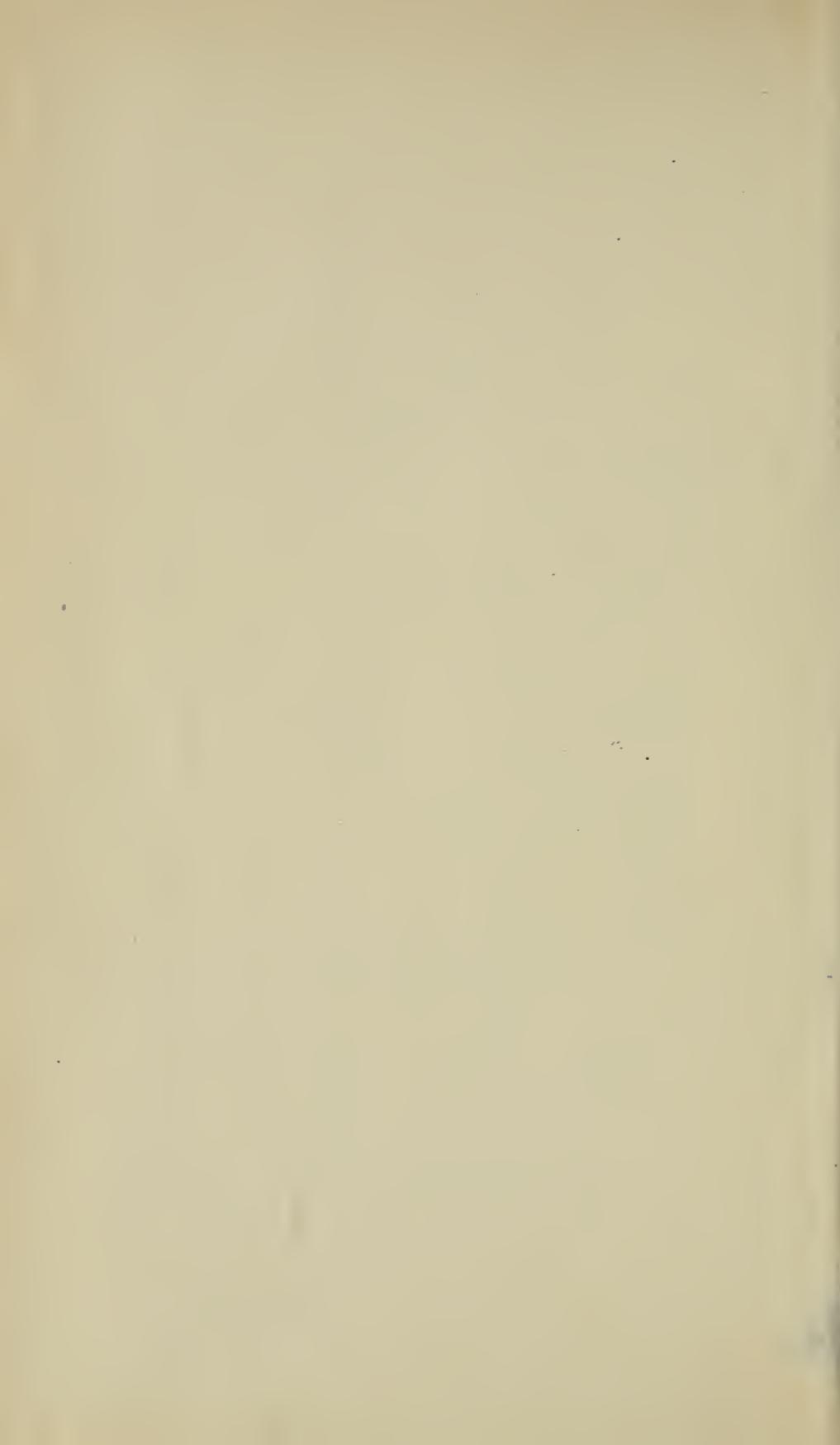
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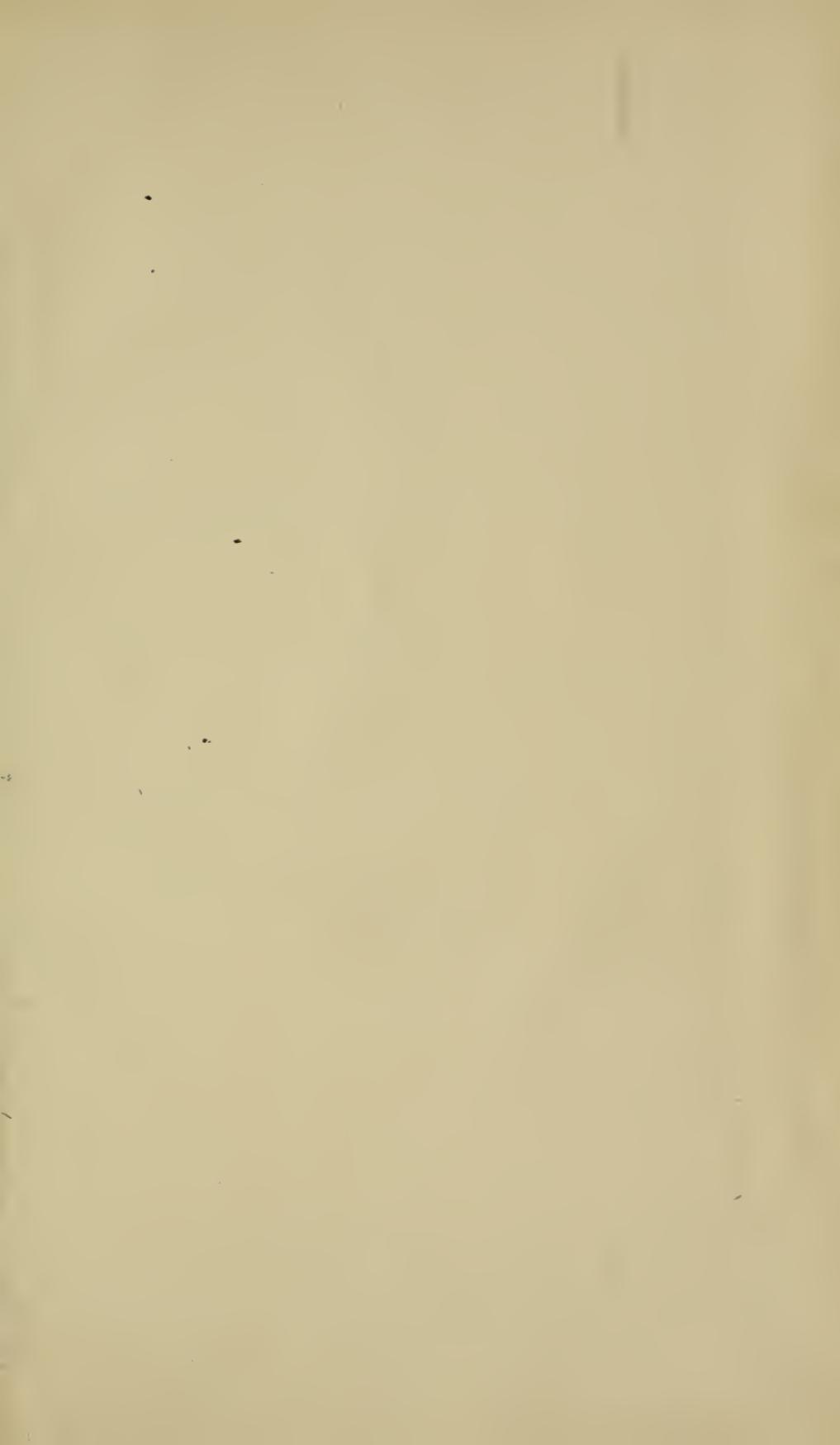
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THE OTHER SIDE

(CAL.)

—OF THE—

*Chinese Question*

IN CALIFORNIA.

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THIRD EDITION

—WITH—

*APPENDIX II.*

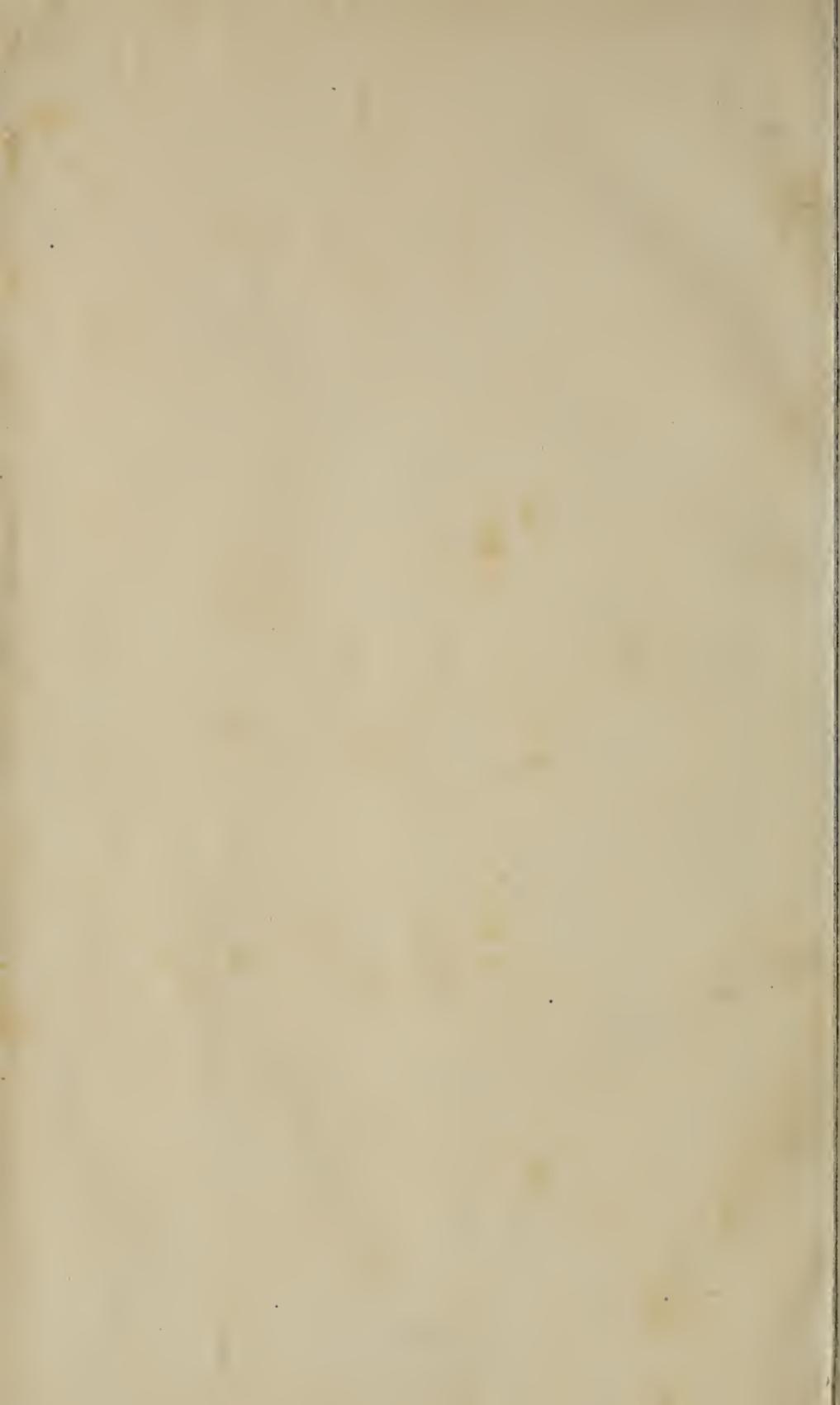
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1876.







CAL.

[SECOND EDITION—WITH APPENDIX.]

# THE OTHER SIDE

—OF THE—

# CHINESE QUESTION

IN CALIFORNIA;

—OR—

## A REPLY TO THE CHARGES AGAINST THE CHINESE

As Embodied in the Resolutions adopted at the Anti-Chinese  
Mass Meeting, held April 5th, 1876, in San Francisco.

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*Respectfully Submitted to the Unbiased Judgment of the  
American People, President and Congress,*

BY THE FRIENDS OF

RIGHT, JUSTICE AND HUMANITY.

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### PREAMBLE.

Being fully aware that the subject in controversy, namely, *The Chinese Immigration to this Country*, is one of paramount importance to both State and Nation;

That it is a debatable question, of which thus far but one side has had a full hearing;

That it is the constitutional right and privilege of every citizen in this FREE REPUBLIC to write, publish and speak can-

didly his own sentiments on any public subject, whether popular or unpopular ;

And, moreover, believing that several charges against the Chinese, whieh are embodied in the Address and Resolutions of the Citizens' Anti-Chinese Committee, adopted at the Mass Meeting held in San Francisco April 5th, are untrue, or exaggerated ;

The FRIENDS of RIGHT, JUSTICE and HUMANITY, While entertaining the highest respect for said Committee and the vast assembly which honored their Address and Resolutions with their approval, they are compelled to dissent from them, and to accept the ehallenge eontained in the above mentioned resolutions; "to successfully refute the charges they have made against the Chinese."

In submitting this REPLY to the intelligent and unbiased judgment of the American people, President and Congress, the FRIENDS of RIGHT, JUSTICE and HUMANITY fondly hope that it will receive the consideration it deserves, notwithstanding it proceeds from a minority—since a question of a national interest, like this of "Chinese Immigration," should be decided from reason and fact and by the voice, not of one State alone, but of the majority of States.

The Committee open their address by declaring their intention to respect the provision of treaties, the decision of courts, and the higher considerations of humanity, in dealing with the Chinese who are domieiled in our midst.

The spirit of fairness and humanity toward a helpless class of human beings, and of submission to law and authority, thus shown by the Committee, is very commendable indecd.

Had, however, this fine declaration gone one step further, and included the Chinese that may come hereafter, and before the abrogation of the American treaty with China, it would be unexceptionable.

Why is this unjust discrimination as to treatment made between the Chinese who are now domieiled in our midst and those who are not and may come before the abrogation of the treaty ?

Have not the latter as well as the former been invited to this country, "by the policy of our laws, and the sanction of our highest legislative and judicial tribunals," as the Committee very justly remark upon referring to the Chinese in our midst?

From observation, experience, and contact with the Chinese for twenty-five years, the Committee consider it "*their right to claim an intelligent opinion on the Chinese question.*"

No reasonable man will say that their claim is not well grounded. But it is not exclusively theirs. All persons who thoroughly acquaint themselves with all the facts in the Chinese case, both *pro* and *con*, are able to form an intelligent and correct judgment on this subject..

And if the people and Congress, outside of California, are not competent to adjudicate this subject intelligently, why do the Committee invoke, with so great fervor, their decision?

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## REPLY TO THE CHARGES AGAINST THE CHINESE.

**FIRST CHARGE**—"The Chinese will soon outnumber our people."

The Committee estimate the Chinese population in California at 200,000, (about one fourth of the entire population of the State) of whom 75,000 reside in San Francisco, and constitute "one fourth part of our people."

This estimate is grossly incorrect. In order to be fair on this point, we will give the statistics as they have been gathered from reliable sources, beginning with the statement of Chinese passengers arrived at and departed from the port of San Francisco since 1852, which was compiled from the Custom House records and published in the San Francisco *Evening Post*.

“Year.	Arrived.	Departed.
1852.....	20,025	1,768
1853.....	4,270	4,421
1854.....	16,084	2,339
<i>Carried forward</i> .....	40,378	8,526

<i>Brought forward</i> .....	40,379	8,526
1855.....	3,329	3,473
1856.....	4,807	3,028
1857.....	5,925	1,938
1858.....	5,427	2,542
1859.....	3,175	2,450
1860.....	7,341	2,000
1861.....	8,490	3,580
1862.....	8,175	2,792
1863.....	6,432	2,404
1864.....	2,682	3,910
1865.....	3,005	2,295
1866.....	2,245	3,111
1867.....	4,290	4,475
1868.....	11,081	4,210
1869.....	14,091	4,835
1870.....	10,870	4,236
1871.....	5,540	3,260
1872.....	9,770	4,800
1873.....	17,075	6,805
1874.....	16,085	7,710
1875.....	18,021	6,302
First quarter of 1876.....	5,065	625
<hr/>		
Total .....	214,126	90,089

"This gives an excess of arrivals over departures of 124,137. The number of Chinese in California before this record began to be kept is estimated at 10,000, so that the total of Chinese now in the country, without deducting the deaths, would be about 134,000. Deduct 24,000 for deaths, and we have the round number of 110,000 Mongolians now with us."—*S. F. Post*, April 20th, 1876.

Next we add the statement regarding the number of Chinese in America, as obtained by the Senate Sub-Committee on Chinese investigation from the Presidents of the six Chinese Companies, which is as follows :

Sam Yup Company .....	10,100
Young Wo Company.....	1,200
Kong Chow Company.....	15,000
Wing Young Company.....	75,000
Hop Wo Company .....	34,000
Yan Wo Company.....	4,300
<hr/>	
Total .....	148,600

"They estimated that there were 30,000 in San Francisco, and 30,000 in the State, outside of San Francisco."—*S. F. Bulletin*, April 20th, 1876.

Further, we append the statistics furnished to us by the Presidents of the Six Companies, comprising the arrivals to and departures from this coast by the Chinese, since 1873 to the present time, which are as follows :

**SAM YUP COMPANY.**

Year.	Arrived.	Departed.
1873 .....	755	520
1874.....	842	495
1875.....	878	574
1876, up to April.....	172	120

**KONG CHOW COMPANY.**

1873.....	1,290	888
1874.....	1,510	914
1875.....	1,655	712
1876, up to April.....	680	91

**YOUNG WO COMPANY.**

1873 .....	943	694
1874 .....	760	825
1875 .....	1,430	670
1876, up to April .....	360	83

**WING YOUNG COMPANY.**

1873 .....	5,621	2,738
1874 .....	5,748	2,892
1875 .....	5,520	2,760
1876, up to April .....	1,700	432

**HOP WO COMPANY.**

1873 .....	2,600	1,100
1874 .....	3,100	1,400
1875 .....	3,200	1,500
1876, up to April .....	800	150

**YAN WO COMPANY.**

1873 .....	540	260
1874 .....	560	240
1875 .....	480	210
1876, up to April .....	150	28

From which we gather, that the arrivals of Chinese in 1873 were 11,749, and the departures 6,200. In 1874 the arrivals were 12,520 and the departures 6,766. In 1875, the arrivals were 13,163 and the departures 6,426. And in 1876, up to and including a part of April, the arrivals have been 3,862, and the departures 904, which figures being added together give a grand total, in three years and a quarter, of arrivals, 41,294, and of departures, 20,296, leaving an excess of arrivals over departures of 20,998.

And if we accept the report of the Senate Sub-Committee authorized by the six Chinese Companies, which makes a more liberal estimate of the entire Chinese population in America than the Custom House statistics do, there are now 148,000 Chinese in the United States, of whom 60,000 reside in California, and of these 30,000 live in San Francisco and 30,000 in the State at large.

If therefore the population of San Francisco now reaches, according to the generally accepted estimate, the number of 250,000, and that of the entire State is 800,000, the Chinese number in this State and City above given is *less than one eighth* of the population of the City and *less than one thirteenth* of the population of the entire State.

Surely, this computation makes a great difference in the estimate made by the Committee, that "the Chinese in California constitute one-fourth of the population of the entire State, and the Chinese in San Francisco are one fourth of its population."

But the Committee aver that "considering the source from whence comes the Chinese immigration, viz, China, which contains 400,000,000 of inhabitants as against 40,000,000 who live in the United States, and considering that this is an age of cheap and quick transportation by reason of steam, etc., they feel alarmed at this increasing invasion (*i. e.* immigration) lest it may soon outnumber our Pacific Coast population and imperil our best interests."

However, if the rate of Chinese immigration be in the future as it has been in the last twenty years, the Committee may as

well allay their fears, since there is no reason why the gauge should not keep steady in the future as in the past.

If "gold and silver discoveries" on this coast were the cause of Chinese immigration, as the Committee allege, together with high wages for labor paid in early times, will any sensible man believe that said immigration will increase when placer diggings are exhausted and wages have fallen low.

The Committee may rest assured that cheap labor, which is now so much decried, will prove in the end an effectual remedy against Chinese immigration. The Chinese will only stop coming to America, when it is made no longer profitable.

The Committee charge that the Chinese do not settle in this country like the white people, at the same time they do not want them to remain here, fearing that they may soon outnumber the white population.

Pray, do not these contrary demands show inconsistency of purpose?

But you need not, gentlemen, give way to an unnecessary alarm. Compare, if you please, the table of Chinese and white immigration of last year.

The *Evening Post*, a journal not suspected of partiality toward the Chinese, gave, last December, the following results concerning the white immigration to this State:

Year 1875, eleven months—*Arrived*, 102,100—*Departed*, 39,800—*Gain*, 62,300.

The *Post* concluded the statement thus: "The arrivals for the year will reach the estimate made by us some time ago, 110,000, and not less than 65,000 of them may be set down as immigrants who are bound to remain here. This is a gain of not much less than ten per cent. on the total population. The figures will overlap those of 1874 by not less than 20,000."

Now, let us turn to the Chinese statistics of arrivals and departures of last year, as furnished by the six companies, which are more liberal in the estimates than the Custom House statistics.

Year 1875. Twelve months.—*Arrived*, 13,163. *Departed*, 6,426, *Gain*, 6,737.

Thus we had last year a new accession of white population numbering 65,000, as against an increase of Chinese population of nearly seven thousand ; in other words, the Chinese immigration last year numbered about one ninth of the White immigration.

But, let us suppose that the annual Chinese immigration should reach 90,000 instead of 15,000, as at present, and let us set down the excess of arrivals over departures at 50,000 yearly ; how long would it take for the Chinese to reach five millions, or one eighth of the present population of the United States ? JUST ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

The Chinese immigration to this coast comes only by sea, and about three or four times a month. White immigration comes in every day, both by sea and by land, and in very large numbers.

Finally, it must be remembered that China has been a secluded empire for ages, and the policy of the Imperial Government is sternly opposed to the expatriation of its subjects—hence it refuses to appoint any consular agent in our State for their protection, saying that “if they come here, they must take the risk.”

The vision, therefore, of 400,000,000 of Chinamen soon overrunning the land, and driving out the white man—notwithstanding the fact that after a period of twenty-five years of Asiatic immigration, but 148,000 of them are domiciled in our midst—is either a gross delusion of a diseased imagination, or a wicked imposition, practiced on the credulous by scheming demagogues.

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SECOND CHARGE—“*In the Labor Market the Chinese can underbid the white man or woman.*”

Our first answer to this accusation is, that if underbidding in the labor market were an offense punishable with banishment, many white laborers, both skilled and unskilled, would

be compelled to leave the country. Certainly this offense is quite common to Europeans, Africans, Americans, as well as Asiatics. And under a penal statute prohibiting it, the inventors of machines, the builders of railroads, nay all who make use of steam or horse power on a large scale, should likewise quit the country, because all of them, like the Chinese, only in a greater measure, can underbid the white man or woman in the labor market.

But, is the charge true that Chinamen can under-labor the white man or woman ?

The Committee support their assertion by another, that "the Chinese can subsist more cheaply, and consequently work for lower wages than the white laborer, man or woman."

Supposing, for the present, that Chinese labor is cheap—which is not the fact—we dismiss as not pertinent to this discussion the reason why it is so, whether it be in consequence of their frugal mode of living, or from any other individual cause ; holding that the right to live in a most economical manner was never disputed to individuals even in the most despotic countries

We therefore ask, in what labor market can the Chinaman underbid the white laborer ? Is it in the scientific, artistic or mechanic field of labor ?

The Chinese cannot, evidently, compete with the white race in scientific labor, such as of law, divinity, physics, mathematics, engineering, chemistry, etc., etc., all of which branches furnish employment to a very large multitude. Because the oriental instruction of the Chinese is vastly different from the modern western education, and they are not sufficiently versed in the western languages, both modern and ancient.

For the same reason, they cannot compete with the white race in most of the liberal, polite or finer arts, perfected by western civilization ; hence they cannot compete with our school teachers, professors of belles-lettres, musicians, painters, sculptors, actors and thousand other artists.

In what labor market can then the Chinese underbid the white man or woman ?

It is in the market of purely mechanic labor, but only in a small measure. It is in that part of the field which is open indiscriminately to the European, African, American and Asiatic laborer. As, for instance, in the manual work of factories, shops, fields or gardens ; in the domestic service particularly of the menial kind.

However, even in this restricted part of the labor market, it is not true that the Chinese can underbid at pleasure the white man or woman. They cannot compete for instance with the white laborer, when higher wages are offered to the latter than to the Chinaman for the same kind of work, as is commonly the case.

They cannot compete when the work is accomplished by the white laborer with the aid of machines propelled by steam or horse power, or other mechanical appliances which the Chinaman, on account of his poverty, cannot have. The effect of these machines is to increase the production of manufactures or the amount of work, and thus to reduce the price of labor. It is in this manner that some laundries in San Francisco, with the aid of machinery, can reduce the price of washing to less than half a cent per piece, and thus undersell the Chinaman who works by hand.

The charge, therefore, that "in the labor market the Chinese can underbid the white man or woman," is not altogether true, either in a general or a particular sense.

And, if in consequence of the total lack of capital and the smaller wages offered to them, the Chinese cannot well compete with white labor, is it likely that they can control the entire market of labor, or "have a monopoly of it," as the Committee assert ?

The Chinamen have, we concede, entered the field of competition; partly from necessity and partly from desire of gain, and have engaged in several manufactures ; also, they have obtained employment in different offices filled likewise by the white people. But competition is not monopoly, and does not, like the latter, drive opposition out of the market.

Thus we see competition in manufactures, in transportation by land and by sea, in agricultural productions, in fact, in every branch of human industry. Do the competitors on that score drive each other out of business? As with capital so with labor, its field, particularly in California, is large, allowing plenty of room for laborers of all races, as a witness truly remarked before the Senate Committee on Chinese investigation.

If the Committee desire to be fair and candid, they must acknowledge that even in the branches of industry which they say "the Chinese have attempted and *monopolized*—as washing, cigar making, box manufacturing, the making of boots, shoes, slippers, coarse clothing, underwear for men and women, wood turning, making of woolens, silk, rope, matting, the labor in all the mechanic arts, in the family service, in attending offices and stores, in fishing and raising vegetables—in these and other employments"—the Chinese have neither "*entirely*," nor mostly driven out white laborers, but in common with other laborers they have obtained employment.

And why should not the Asiatic as well as the African, European and American seek employment to support life? Is it not the natural law of self preservation which is as imperative on the Asiatic as on the Caucasian race? "*Live and let live*" is the motto of modern humanitarianism which is not restricted to place, person, or nationality.

It is claimed, however, by the Committee, that the Chinese have lowered the standard price of labor in this State, so far as to cause great injury to white men, women, boys and girls, who being unable to live as they do, "have in many instances been brought to want and idleness, and in some cases to poverty and crime."

The charge is certainly grievous and requires investigation. "In the first place, "*Has the Chinese immigration, as a matter of fact, produced cheap labor in California?*"

The S. F. *American Free Press*, under date of April 21st, 1876, thus answers this question :

"Chinese boys, twelve to sixteen years of age, fresh from

China, unable to speak or to understand our language, and perfectly unacquainted with our methods of labor, are paid \$2 and \$3 per week and found.

"Boys from sixteen to twenty years, able to speak a few words, and partially experienced in our methods of labor, command \$3 to \$5 per week and found.

"A Chinaman, able to cook and wash for a family, readily commands from \$5 to \$8 per week. In our Eastern cities the same kind and amount of labor can be obtained for less money, the average price being about \$3 to \$6 per week for first class servants; while in the country and villages the prices range from \$1 50 to \$3 per week; so that, as compared with other portions of our country, in the matter of domestic servants, we have no cheap labor as yet on this coast, not even Chinese. Whatever curses the Chinese may bring to these shores, *cheap domestic labor* is not yet one of them."

Many instances can be adduced, to show that Chinese labor is higher than the same kind of white labor in the United States and Europe.

George W. Swan, one of the proprietors of the Union Box Factory, who formerly employed Chinamen, and now employs 50 boys and girls and 20 men, all white, stated to a *Chronicle* reporter that "the boys receive from fifty cents to one dollar and the girls from fifty to seventy-five cents per day, while he paid no Chinaman less than seventy-five cents per day.—*S. F. Chronicle*, April 14, 1876.

In this instance, Chinese labor did not lower its standard price.

But how can cheap labor injure the best interests of a State like California, capable of sustaining a population of ten millions, whose immense resources, both mineral and agricultural, have not been yet developed for lack of sufficient capital, but which with an abundance of cheap labor might be made to yield an untold wealth?

How can cheap labor injure the interests of our people, when it is known from the history of all countries, and of our State in particular, that cheap labor like the Chinese has aided to establish several branches of manufactures which, as ex-Gov-

renor Haight avers in his letter to the Secretary of the Committee upon Chinese Immigration, "could not exist without it."

"It is argued," continues Haight, "that such labor as that performed upon swamp and overflowed lands for exnple, can only be performed by this class of laborers, and that it would be as rational to suppose that the laboring classes would be injured by labor-saving machines as by a kind of labor which enables industries to thrive that otherwise could not exist." The argument is not altogether without force, and so far as the present number of Chinese is concerned, their presence on the whole may not have injured, but, *on the contrary, may have benefited white labor.*"

An opinion so candid, from a source so high as H. H. Haight, who was elected Governor of California in 1867, on the Anti-Chinese platform, is an overwhelming rebuttal to the charge of the Anti-Chinese Committee, that Asiatic labor has worked injury upon the interests of the State.

Other no less conspicuous persons have expresssed the same sentiment on the same snject, before the Senate Committee of Investigation on the Chinese question. They are Charles W. Brooks, U. S. Ex-Minister to Japan and long a resident of California ; F. F. Low, formerly Minister to China and Governor of California ; Mr. Porter, of the firm of Porter, Oppenheimer & Slessinger, importers of boots and shoes, and many other distinguished persons.

The entire case is thus clearly and forcibly summed up by a farmer of Santa Clara, in a communication to the *Chronicle* under date of April 18, 1876 :

"It is said that wages are reduced by the Chinamen. This is a grand mistake. We pay higher wages than are paid in any other State of the Union. The fact that a great deal of cheap labor is secured, enables farmers and others to pay white *men* more than they could do otherwise. As well say that horses do a great deal of work simply for their boarding, 'and that they live on what a white man could not live on,' and thus reduce wages. Why not banish the horses from the land ? The farmer could have his grouud spaded up. This would pro-

vide labor for men who can vote. It would cost him five dollars to raise a sack of wheat, but what of that? The country would prosper. White men would get employment. Now, Mr. Editor, I know this to be a fact: That nine out of every ten men who carry on business in the country, look upon this anti-Chinese talk and howl as uncalled for. They know that the prosperity of the country depends very much upon the labor of these same heathen Chinese."

To conclude this point: If the cheap labor of the Chinese has not been the cause of the reduction of wages with respect to white labor any more than the labor-saving machines, steam and horse power, but on the contrary, it has given rise to new industries which have furnished employment to white laborers, and would not otherwise exist, it follows: *First*—That the Chinese are not and cannot be made responsible for the want, idleness and vices of white men, women, boys and girls, in consequence of lack of employment. *Second*—That cheap labor is the creator of capital and a real source of wealth; it will not therefore divide the civil community, as the anti-Chinese apprehend, into two classes, one of paupers and another of wealthy aristocrats, in a land, the natural resources of which are varied and almost boundless. The patent fact that in this State, hundreds of individuals, from the humble position of laborers, have risen by work and industry, to a high state of wealth, repels with contempt such an absurd idea.

Finally, we advise the opponents of Chinese immigration not to urge the argument of cheap labor too much, for it may recoil with terrible force against white immigration. If the American Government is to exclude all cheap labor, it must then turn out of the country millions of emancipated negroes, and must close the doors to hundreds of thousands of poor emigrants who arrive every year from Ireland, Germany, Italy, Wales, and other parts of Europe.

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THIRD CHARGE:—“ *The Chinese do not here invest their money; do not buy, but import from China most of the clothes they wear and the food they consume; send to China the proceeds of their labor, and provide for the return of their dead bodies.*”

Supposing these to be facts, what inference do the Committee draw from them ? That the Chinese are not useful to the State ?

However, it has been shown already, that they have aided and are now aiding to develop the natural resources of the country, to multiply industries, to widen the field of labor and to increase our wealth. And is not this a sufficient proof of their usefulness ?

Was ever the obligation imposed on either capital or labor, to spend the money fairly earned in the same place where it is earned ? Do white capitalists or laborers recognize such a law anywhere ? If so, then the wealth of the Bonanza mines would have to remain in Nevada and in Virginia City, instead of San Francisco. By universal consent, each individual is free to invest his own money in the manner and place he deems most advantageous to himself. This species of liberty is one of "the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed by their Creator," according to the Declaration of our Independence.

However, the above charge does not hold good with regard to the Chinese, some of whom have bought thousands of acres of land which they have put under cultivation, and others have acquired real estate property in San Francisco, the value of which, according to Assessor Badlam's statement before the Senate Committee, last year, was over \$100,000.

Nor is it true that "the Chinese do not use or consume our products, and that they altogether remit to China the proceeds of their labor. We can do no better than repeat the answer made on this same point to the Jesuit Buchard, in a lecture delivered at Platt's Hall, March 14th, 1873, by the Rev. O. Gibson, a Protestant missionary for ten years in China, and long resident of San Francisco, having charge of the Chinese mission on this coast :

"It is about time that the fallacy was taken out of this kind of talk. Many Chinamen wear garments made out of our cloth, they wear our boots and our hats ; they are fond of watches, and jewelry, and sewing machines ; they ride in our cars and steamers ; they eat our fish, and beef, and potatoes, and exhaust our pork market. Take the one item of pork

alone, and the Chinamen of this coast pay to our producees nor this coast half a million of dollars annually. If we would itemize the various products which they consume, we should find that they do not send home over ten per cent. of their earnings."

To form an idea of the amount of money which the Chinese pay annually to the people and Government of the State and Nation, let us make the following modest computation :

If we reckon that each Chinaman pays yearly to the business community of the State for the articles of life he uses and the food he consumes, such as fresh meat and groceries, and for his conveyance in street cars, railroads, and steamers, only \$20 a year, or less than \$2 per month ; upon the estimate we have before made of only 60,000 Chinese sojourning in California, the amount of money thus paid here by them amounts to \$1,200,000 annually.

Our opponents say that the Chinese have scarcely any real estate property ; if so, they must, and do, pay high rents for their dwellings. In San Francisco alone, their rental in the quarter they inhabit, which comprises about eight blocks, cannot be less than \$150,000 per month, which, being added to the rental paid by the Chinese wash-houses and cigar stores throughout the City, it will swell to \$200,000 monthly, or \$2,400,000 yearly. Assuming that the 30,000 Chinese in cities and towns throughout the State, outside of San Francisco, pay no less than \$500,000 for house rent and that the annual insurance paid by Chinese merchants is no less than \$100,000; we have a total of \$3,000,000 paid annually by the Chinese to real estate owners in this State.

Add now the poll tax, which is for them \$120,000 ; also the license tax for mining, washing, etc., which can be no less than \$50,000 a year, and behold a grand total of the amount of money disbursed annually by the Chinese population in the State of California, for the benefit of the Government, merchants, real estate owners, railroad and steamer companies, equal to \$4,370,000.

This vast sum, however, does not comprise the Custom duties which the Chinese pay for the articles they import to the

United States. Rev. O. Gibson has estimated the duties on their imports to be no less than \$2,000,000 each year. Certainly the figures of Chinese imports for 1874 and 1875, as gathered from the Custom House, seem to warrant this statement.

IMPORTS 1874 AND 1875.

	1874.	1875.
Tea.....	\$1,096,400	\$ 518,926
Rice.....	812,261	1,141,462
Opium .....	226,632	757,640
Sugar .....	481,273	183,656
Silk.....	626,424	209,336
Coffee.....	151,585	162,823
Other articles.....	1,374,422	1,741,739
 Totals .....	\$4,688,797	\$4,715,582
Grand total.....		\$9,404,379

Now do not these figures effectively contradict the statement which has so much prejudiced the popular mind against the Chinese, that they spend no money in this State, but "remit to China the proceeds of their labor?"

FOURTH CHARGE: *"The majority of Chinamen have been imported under servile-labor contracts, and the women for lewd purposes, against the spirit and letter of our law."*

This charge is indeed serious; for it asserts that Chinamen and Chinawomen are slaves, and slavery of any kind is prohibited by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

There is no question, therefore, as to the nature of the offense; the only question is as to its existence. Therefore we ask, where is the proof? Have any considerable number of Chinamen and Chinawomen been interrogated as they should, with regard to their condition of life, and whether they have come to this country of their own free will and accord? We have not learned that any considerable body of Chinese have yet been examined on this particular, and that they have uniformly sustained the charge.

But who are the parties that have made these contracts and are holding Chinamen and Chinawomen in bondage? This is equally unknown.

The Anti-Chinese Committee speak of secret companies that hold them in servitude and enforce the labor contracts under severe penalties, which our laws cannot prevent.

Where are the particulars that will corroborate this statement? None are given by the Committee. Surely if it be true, that nearly 60,000 Chinese, both men and women, are held in servitude in California, is it probable that none, or even few of them, have yet sought to escape, when the opportunity of

regaining their liberty is so great? And if persecuted by secret companies, would they not have recourse to our civil authorities for protection, make known their complaints, and reveal the secret methods of this species of slavery?

Nevertheless, if we except some isolated case, in which some Chinaman was unjustly deprived of his liberty and punished by certain private parties, we have not sufficient evidence on which to found this accusation.

Is it likely that labor contractors either here or in China would engage servile labor, being fully aware that it is prohibited by our laws and the contract declared null and void, and made a penal offense?

What slave-holder would have imported his slaves to England, Germany, or France, knowing, for certain, that on reaching those lands they would have been made free and himself thrown into prison and subjected to a heavy fine? Is the case different, here, with regard to masters of Chinese slaves, peons or coolies, and their agents? Certainly not.

But since the Anti-Chinese Committee and their friends seem to think that the so called Six Chinese Companies import both men and women for service, against their own free will, and that they exercise coercive authority over them, we desire to sum up the facts relative to the character of said companies and of the Chinese in general, as elicited by the investigation lately held by the Senate Committee.

1st. Rev. O. GIBSON, for ten years missionary in China, testified that "in China there is no slavery of men."—[S. F. *Bulletin*, April 12th.]

2d. CHING FUNG CHOW, President of the Yan Wo Co : "Chinese men never sell their wives at home."—[S. F. *Alta*, April 20th.]

3d. REV. DR. LOOMIS, formerly missionary in China : "In social relations the Chinese are commendable; man and wife are faithful."—[S. F. *Bulletin*, April 20th.]

4th. EX-GOVERNOR F. F. LOW, formerly Minister to China : "Most of the Chinese women who emigrate are loose in their morals, but there is not much immorality among the females in China, as it is punished severely there."—[S. F. *Chronicle*, April 12th.] "He did not believe any Chinese were brought here against their wills.—[*Chronicle, ib.*]

5th. REV. O. GIBSON : "Was of opinion, that a majority of the Chinese who come to the United States were free and untrammelled, being bound by no contract whatever. He did not think that the Six Companies had any power over their members other than a persuasive power."

"The Six Companies were an association formed for the purpose of protecting the interests of its members, and there were

no contracts, so far as he knew, between the companies and any Chinaman who comes to this country."—[S. F. *Chronicle*, April 13th.]

The Presidents of the Six Chinese Companies supported Dr. Gibson's statement, adding, that one of their objects is to take care of the sick; that they discourage prostitution, gambling, and Chinese immorality, and do not import either males or females, nor advance any money for their passage.

6th. A. ALTMAYER, a member of the firm of Einstein Bros., (manufacturers of boots and shoes, who have, until late, employed Chinamen of the Hop Wo. Co.) testified that "He did not think that the men were the slaves of the Company, for *they threw up their contract when they chose and left without opposition.*"—[S. F. *Chronicle*, April 15th.]

Even if this evidence should conflict with contrary evidence, and its high authority be disregarded, it will most certainly establish one thing, namely, that the Anti Chinese Committee have not yet found positive proof for sustaining the sweeping charge which they have made against the Chinese, namely, that "they are slaves imported to this country for servile labor or lewd purposes against the spirit and letter of our Constitution and law."

There may be undoubtedly some persons who make a traffic of Chinese females for immoral purposes and restrict their liberty; but it is questionable, even with regard to them, whether they have been imported against their wills.

Certainly, the law of Congress provides that our Consuls in Chinese ports shall duly investigate both the object of their emigration and their voluntary departure, and if they find that they are taken against their will, or for lewd purposes, they are required to refuse them the certificate of emigration which all masters of vessels must require of emigrants bound to the United States; and the law of Congress to Regulate Chinese Immigration, passed in December, 1869, requires, moreover, that no Chinese female shall be permitted to emigrate to the United States who is not accompanied by either her father or her husband.

Therefore, if the law has been violated in this respect, not the Chinese Companies, but our Consuls at the Chinese ports are to blame, and the appeal to Congress should be on our part to see that the law is enforced.

#### SUNDRY CHARGES AND CONCLUSION.

We dismiss as unworthy of consideration the charges that "The Chinese are pagans; are not a homogeneous race, do not adopt our manners, our food, our style of dress, etc."

It will be a sad day, indeed, for this great Republic, when it shall prescribe personal qualities of this kind as conditions to immigration. America will again become a wild then, and her great boast as "The Land of the Free" will be no more. Such qualifications for simple residents as recommended by the Anti-Chinese Committee are unknown even in the most despotic countries.

The Chinese are accused of being *filthy, diseased, immoral* and *vicious* people, who fill our prisons and crowd our hospitals.

The Report of the Board of Directors of the California State Prison, for 1875, gives the total number of prisoners as 1,083, of whom only 187 are Chinese, notwithstanding they find but little mercy in our Courts. The County Hospital Report shows also but a small proportion of Chinese patients. The City Record of mortality among them is very small and Dr. Toland has testified that they are personally clean.

But if these evils exist, why do not the Municipal Authorities remedy them? Legislation is not exhausted as it is alleged, only faithful police officers who do not accept bribes are required, as shown by the investigation.

Again, if these charges be true, how does it happen that the Chinese have "*monopolized*," as you say, a great portion of the domestic and commercial service, and in the very best houses, for nearly twenty years? Can it be that our wealthy and honored citizens will confide their households to *filthy, diseased, immoral* and criminal servants? Either our citizens are not what they seem or it is not true what you say in regard to the Chinese.

However, Christian civilization is imperiled by the Pagan influx. Most assuredly so, if free education is abolished as many of you desire; for Ignorance is the mother of superstition!

But it is enough. This Anti-Chinese Crusade, started by sectarian fanaticism encouraged by personal prejudice and ambition for political capital, has already culminated in personal attack, abuse and incendiaryism against the inoffensive Chinese. Anti-Coolie Clubs are now arming and preparing to follow the late example of the people of Antioch, who have banished the Chinese and burned their quarters.

It is high time that the Municipal, State and National authorities, in common with law abiding citizens, should awake to the imminent danger that threatens to break the peace and to disgrace both State and Nation. They must assert their authority in defense of our treaty obligations with China, for the protection of Chinese emigrants and in behalf of law and order. X.

## APPENDIX.

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It may be interesting for the American people, and Congress, to know why it is that on a question so important as the one on Chinese immigration, the plaintiff alone, namely, *White Labor*, should have had a full hearing in California.

Surely Capital and Commerce cannot be indifferent to it.

It is well known that most of our manufactories employ Chinese labor, although not exclusively.

Even the mineral, agricultural, and railroad interests cannot dispense with it.

All these great agencies aver, that under a high wages system their business will be seriously crippled, if not destroyed entirely.

Commerce between China and the United States to the extent of several millions annually, is in a great measure pending on this question, and the rights and privileges of American citizens, nay the protection of their lives and property in that country, are all hanging on the balance.

Is it not then strange, that none of the parties so vitally concerned have yet risen in defense? How can such a conduct be explained?

Very easily. The present situation is truly critical. Agricultural producers and manufacturers see before them a most powerful opposition whose patronage they need and whose disfavor they dread; they are therefore very much perplexed as to what course to take. If they favor Chinese immigration openly, they lose a large patronage, if they oppose it, they lose the main spring of their wealth, "cheap labor."

As with the merchant so with the Press. It has become mum before a frowning multitude, or has loosened its tongue in an endless tirade against "the heathen Chinee."

It was a different thing with it in time past when it was really independent, or not under restraint. It could then even praise the Chinese for their good qualities as domestics. Here is how *The Alta California* spoke of white and Chinese servants in an editorial under date of November 16, 1869:

"A supply of good servants at moderate wages is one of the great wants of this coast. Thousands of families have gone to the Atlantic States, mainly because they could not get along without servants, and could not afford to pay the *wages current* here. Many of those who demand high wages are ignorant of their business and grossly dishonest, so that there is an extensive preference for *Chinese servants*, who generally work for less pay and are less wasteful and more respectful, and do not tattle at all."

The same utterances made at this time would cost *The Alta* her journalistic life.

Because *The San Francisco Chronicle*, a journal that has fairly earned the honor of Champion of the present Anti-Chinese crusade, did, on the 13th of last April, publish a communication from "a Farmer" in reply to the allegation that "Chinese labor is cheap;" it was chastised and catechised by an indignant subscriber the following day, in this style :

"Now, allow me to say that in my opinion—and mine is that of many others—that you should not (*i. e.* if you are in earnest and sincere) publish any such malicious, anti-liberal, lying communications, as they are certainly detrimental to the cause we seem to espouse."

It cannot be doubted that the large Anti-Chinese Mass Meeting, held at Union Hall, April 5th, also that the inflammatory speeches made that evening outside of the Hall and in the anti-Chinese clubs ever since, which, on the 26th of May, resulted in an anti-Chinese mob in this city, have all had the effect of inspiring fear for personal injury, and of keeping back many unimpeachable witnesses who would have gladly testified on the Chinese side of the question, thus leaving the field clear to the opposition.

Indeed, what chance would the defense stand before a Legislative Committee of Investigation which is composed wholly of men opposed to Chinese immigration, and who are the creatures of anti-Coolie clubs ?

The Committee seem to be under command not to admit any other evidence but what will favor the anti-Chinese side of the case.

A correspondent in the *Chronicle* of April 14th, reprimands the Committee because they received Rev. O. Gibson's testi-

mony which favored the Chinese. "I think," says that fair man, "the Senate Committee made a great mistake in examining witnesses whose salaries depend upon the continuance of the Chinese among us."

The Investigating Committee would not receive the testimony of a well-known manufacturer in this city, who has had in his employ thousands of Chinese laborers for over ten years, because he very properly refused to be bound by questions, but offered to give full evidence of all he knew about the Chinese as laborers, and of their good qualities when they are properly treated, as well as of the great benefits they have conferred upon the City and State,

And here it is proper to ask, why did not the Committee examine a large number of Chinese, to ascertain whether they are slaves under contract as charged by the opposition. Surely it would have been to their advantage to testify on that point and have it settled. But the Committee seemed afraid of a frank confession that might be made by the Celestials.

On the contrary, they interrogated witness in matters about which they knew nothing, as for instance Dr. Shorb, who candidly acknowledged that he had never visited the Chinese quarter, as was his duty to do as Health Inspector, and consequently could say nothing of their sanitary habits.—[*Bulletin*, April 20.] .

They received as truthful the Assessor's statement, that the Chinese real estate property in this city amounts to about \$100,000, notwithstanding that that sum scarcely covers the insurance they pay on their buildings.

By their investigation they made it appear that gambling, prostitution, robbery, are vices exclusively belonging to the Chinese, when it is a patent fact that their quarter is bordered by "Barbary Coast," so designated from the large number of vicious of all races and nationalities that have congregated for twenty-six years there more than in any other part of the city, where hundreds of ill-fame houses are kept open day and night by women of all races and nations.

The Legislative Committee have gathered a mass of opinions

from several irresponsible witnesses, conflicting in statement and unsupported by circumstantial evidence.

Now the question arises, can one-sided testimony taken in the midst of a popular excitement, by a committee of settled views, from several exceptionable witnesses, unchallenged by the defense, form a basis for the American people and Congress on which to form their decision on the Chinese question now pending ?

The minority have the right to demand in behalf of right and justice, and for the welfare of our City, State and Nation, the appointment of an unbiased Committee of Investigation under the authority of Congress, and a new investigation in which both sides, *pro* and *con*, may have a full hearing on the Chinese question. Until such an impartial investigation is held they trust and pray that Congress will suspend action on any bill or measure tending to impede or restrict Chinese emigration to this country.

It would seem a disgraceful surrender to the majority under pressure, regardless of the rights of the minority.

It would embolden a lawless element in the ranks of the opposition already bent upon acts of violence, who would compel by force the helpless Chinese in our midst to leave the State and their employers to discharge them.

It would strike a fatal blow at our commercial prosperity, and would deter capitalists from making further investments in manufactures. As an instance, three of them who contemplated spending \$150,000 in machinery and the enlargement of buildings, have, in consequence of anonymous notes demanding the discharge of the Chinese under penalty of death and fire of buildings, abandoned the idea altogether.

It would be, therefore, a retrograde step in the career of liberty and civilization so happily inaugurated by our forefathers, one hundred years ago.

The party of reaction, intolerance and sectarian education, who compose the majority and the fiercest part of the opposition, would justly claim such action by Congress on the great anniversary of our glorious independence as a great triumph over civil and religious liberty, as an offset to our immortal declaration, and the turning point of the great revolution of ideas wrought in this century.

No greater calamity could befall our nation !!

X.

[THIRD EDITION—APPENDIX II.]

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# DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF Public Sentiment in California

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE CHINESE QUESTION,  
BEFORE THE PRESENT AGITATION.

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The Chinese question in California has, it seems, assumed the nature of a periodical epidemic; for, when a general election is at hand, it invariably breaks out with renewed violence and malignity.

Whether it be that aspiring politicians, destitute of real worth, see in the anti-Chinese crusade a cheap method of gaining popularity for themselves with an ignorant class of voters; or that a powerful religious organization, secretly adverse to the Chinese influx, are urging their followers to press their demands of closing the gates to Chinese immigration; or that civil and political jobbers regard the time of a political canvass as eminently adapted to supplant Chinese with white labor, and to furnish employment to another class of emigrants whose labor and votes they can control; certain it is, that as the anti-Chinese excitement grows in intensity with the approach of election, so it rapidly dies away after it has passed.

But, however intense the ill-feeling against the Chinese as manifested by uproarious journals and speakers may now be, it must not be supposed, as Vivian does in Scribner's Monthly for October, that it ever was, or is, a reflex of public sentiment on the part of a vast number of honorable citizens.

As early as November 14, 1869, the *Alta California*, the first commercial paper of the Pacific coast, after chastising in severe language the Eastern press for branding California as hostile to the Chinese, thus indignantly repelled that charge: "It is not true that even a large majority of the population of California is hostile to the Chinese, or prejudiced against them. Leaving out of question the expediency or inexpediency of Chinese being encouraged to settle here in large numbers, it cannot be said of our people that they are actively inimical to the Asiatic immigrants now that they *are* here. It is true that there is in San Francisco and other central localities an element of brutality and roughness which delights in the maltreatment of the inoffensive and non-resisting Chinamen. That element finds its congenial likeness in the denizens of Cow Bay and Mackerelville, New York, and in the Plug Uglies of Baltimore; no city or considerable town is happy enough to be destitute of such a

" feature of its civilization, and in California, as elsewhere, it shows itself " by abusing those who are legally incapable of that kind of self-defence " which men find in a Court of justice, but, after all, the feeling of the vast " majority of the people of California is one of forbearance, kindness and " friendship toward this harmless people."

The *Alta* then proceeds to give reasons and facts for this kind public sentiment in favor of the Chinese, which are as true now as they were then: "They (the Chinese) are in the families of men of all political parties, " employed everywhere, and their patience, industry and faithfulness to "their employers are the theme of admiration of all who know them. They " are here, and they are tolerated without any violent qualms of repugnance. " And no fulminations of a few windy demagogues or sophistries of shallow " people should be mistaken for anything like a prevalent sentiment in " the State."

The same charges of the evil effects of Chinese immigration upon the *moral* and *material* interests of the country were time and again brought forward by the same obstreperous journals and speakers, and as often they were refuted by a fair and impartial press and by high honored men from the pulpit and from the rostrum.

Let us cite some instances of this kind:

FIRST. The charge of an *alarming increase of Chinese population in our midst* made by the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Here it is how the *Alta* of June 8, 1873, in a very able article rich of information, refuted that false statement which, with singular audacity, has again been renewed, only in a different manner this year, by the same unscrupulous journal. "In the *Chronicle* of May 23d, was published what " purported to be a statistical statement of a Chinaman named Ah Yu, " claiming to be informed on the subject of Chinese immigration to California, " wherein the assertion was made, with a professed show of detail, " that the number of Chinamen now in California is 121,000, and in San Francisco between twenty-three and twenty-five thousand. The alleged " facts have since been repeated in that paper and made the subject of " editorial comment and argument. Other papers have stated that within " the past two or three years there has been a marked and growing increase " of the influx of Chinese, to a degree that is alarming. Now if all this " were true it would be a grave matter, entitled to the serious consideration " and action of statesmen and of Government. To assert it is not to prove " it. It may do to make this this style of argument for the purposes of " political agitation, and to make converts of those who do not reason for " themselves, but it is not the kind of showing on which thinking men form " opinions, nor nations make or modify treaties. To show how senseless " and groundless are such predictions and how false such statements, we " have been to the trouble to collect reliable statistics concerning the " arrivals and departures of Chinamen for the past twenty years, or from " January 1st, 1853, to the end of the first quarter of 1873."

The *Alta* then gives the statistics obtained from the records of the Custom House in this city, and sums up the total as follows:

Arrivals.	Departures.	Net gain.	Net loss.
" Total.....135,399	61,909	76,076	1,586
" Showing a total gain in those twenty and a quarter years of 74,490, or an average of 3,678 per annum. The deaths are estimated by the best authorities on the subject as amounting in the aggregate to not less than 2,500, which being deducted leaves the entire present Chinese population of the State 62,500, or an average increase of 3,086 per annum.			

"The white population increases by immigration by land and sea about 25,000 annually, and by births as much more, so that the prospect of our being converted into a tributary colony of China is not very encouraging. At the present rate of Chinese increase, to find the number enlarged to one million, not millions, will require just 324 years, by which time all our present politicians will have gone up Salt River, and our sensation writers and editors will have become attenuated material for some appropriate re-issue in Nature's laboratory, possibly to re-appear on earth in Chinese "personality."

T. J. VIVIAN, in his article on "John Chinaman in San Francisco," bases his statistic of Chinese arrivals since 1868 on the *Chronicle's* authority (see Scribner's Monthly for October, page 862). Let any honest person say whether it is right to buy public credit with such a spurious coin!

SECOND. *The charge of idolatry, viciousness and immorality.*

This charge was powerfully urged against the Chinese by the Jesuit Buchard in his lecture on "Chinaman or White Man, Which?" delivered in St. Francis Church, in this city, February 25th, 1873, wherein he used the following strong language, quoted in the Catholic *Monitor*: "These pagan, these vicious; these immoral creatures, that are incapable of rising to the virtue that is inculcated by the religion of Jesus Christ, the world's Redeemer."

The Rev. O. Gibson, of the M. E. Church, Chinese Missionary for ten years, who replied to Father Buchard in an exhaustive lecture, delivered in Platt's Hall, San Francisco, March 14, 1873, thus attacked this slanderous charge by an argument *ad hominem*:

"There does seem to be a little inconsistency (on the part of the Catholics) in claiming 2,000,000 communicants (in China) from a race incapable of becoming Christians."

"If the race be what Father Buchard states it to be, why any efforts at all to evangelize it? What about Father Peter, and Father Theodore, and Father Sian, Roman Catholic priests of the Chinese race, who at different times have ministered in this city, baptizing the children and shriving the adults of the superior white race? Do not those priests belong to this pagan, vicious, immoral race incapable of rising to the virtue inculcated by the religion of Jesus Christ the world's Redeemer?" And if it is such a sin for an American family to employ a Chinaman in the kitchen, what shall we say of the Romish Church which ordains a pagan, vicious, immoral Chinaman to be a priest at the altar of the God of Heaven?"

Indeed, when challenged upon the score of viciousness and immorality, the Chinese are willing to abide by the prison record, and to accept proscription and banishment if they stand higher in the scale of crime than any other nationality, provided an impartial rule is observed with all classes alike.

When the Hon. Frank M. Pixley—a person who has figured so conspicuously in the present Chinese controversy as an editor of the *Chronicle*, and a member of the Commission to Congress, who wrote the memorial presented to that body for the repeal of the Burlingame treaty—in his lecture delivered February 18, 1873, on "Our Street Arabs," as he called our young hoodlums, referring to the Chinese of early days, who were welcomed to this State, said: "The Asiatic was industrious, his labor was cheap, and he was obedient, willing and law-abiding."—San Francisco *Alta*, Feb. 19, 1873. As industry, cheap labor, willingness to work and obedience to law are qualities which still characterize the great majority of the Chinese, it

seems logically to follow that their presence ought to be as acceptable now as in early times.

The Hon. Frank M. Pixley drew in the same lecture, a picture of California society in early times in particular, which, we apprehend, few will like, as it gives a great handle to the Chinese in the present controversy, and shows that, if Pixley's statements are true, the remedy for the existing evil and depravation of our youth is not the expulsion of the Chinese, but a better civil and domestic government.

Mr. Pixley says: "California was originally settled by gamblers, and "this early passion has continued to the present day, till we may almost say "to day that *our population is composed of gamblers!*" \* \* \* We have "some few patient toilers content to work industriously; but the great "proportion of our business is still to gamble. \* \* \* In the face of all "this demoralization, it is no cause for surprise that our boys and girls do "not grow up the models of virtue and propriety. \* \* \* We furnish "billiard rooms, whisky saloons, dance cellars, melodeons and brothels all "over town, and affect to be surprised that they produce such fatal results."

The charge that the six Chinese Companies buy and import lewd women for immoral traffic has been denied by the six Companies, and by Rev. O. Gibson, before the Senate Committee of Washington, and is made improbable by two Congressional acts, one passed in December, 1869, to regulate Chinese immigration, and the other, Page's bill, approved March 4, 1875, where in Secs. 1 and 2, it is provided that a special inquiry is to be made by the United States Consul-General, or the Consul residing at the port of embarkation, before delivering the permit to masters of vessels to ascertain the character and free condition of the emigrant, under severe penalties, declaring void "All contracts and agreements for a term of service by "Chinese emigrants in the United States, whether made in advance or in "pursuance of such illegal importation, and whether such importation shall "have been in American or other vessels."

But suppose the charge is in some respect true, here is how the Rev. Dr. A. L. Stone met it in his eloquent sermon, delivered June 15, 1873, in the First Congregational Church, in this city: "Granted even that there is a "vile and vicious element among these immigrants, imported for the "most degrading purposes, you may inquire, if you will, who are the "patrons of this element, what demand it is that keeps the supply full, and "when we have done blushing over the answer, we may remind ourselves "that this element can be dealt with under our laws like any other kindred "element. I object to dealing with it by itself, in partial and discrimin- "ating legislation; and it is not to be viewed as a proscription and interdict "to any one kind of nationality taking shelter under our roof."—*Alta*, June 16, 1873.

It is to partial and discriminating legislation that all upright and just citizens object. It is not sufficient that the accusations made against the Chinese are supported by evidence, it is necessary to show moreover that they alone have been found guilty of them. Justice must be impartial, there must be no privileged exception.

THIRD. The charge that the Chinese come, or are brought to this country, under servile labor contracts was thus ably answered by Rev. O. Gibson, in the above mentioned lecture:

"*The Chinamen who come here, in every case come voluntarily.* It is true "that many of them are assisted financially to get here, and to find employ- "ment after they get here, and for such assistance they gladly agree to pay "a certain per cent. of their actual wages until the stipulated sum is paid

"and the contract canceled. Our immigrant societies, importing immigrants from Europe, act upon precisely the same plan. Every intelligence office in this city acts upon precisely the same principle, and transacts business of a similar nature every time a person is employed through their agency. *This voluntary contract to refund*, with interest, moneys which have been advanced on their account, cannot, in any honest way, be called slavery, nor can it be fairly compared to slavery. If these are called slaves, then every person who secures a situation through the agency of an intelligence office is a slave, or may be compared to a slave. It is rather a favorable comment upon the faithfulness of the Chinese in keeping contracts, that moneyed men of their own nation are found willing to advance money on such risks.

"An effort to make people believe that the Chinese are mostly slaves, and to kindle a political excitement upon such a false assumption may be expected from a political demagogue, but from a minister of religion we have a right to expect better things.

"Let me uncover another fallacy here. First—We have a statement that the Chinamen who come here are mostly slaves. This statement is not true of the men in a single instance, but upon this false statement, as a premises, this argument is built. First—Slavery of every kind has been declared unconstitutional.

"Second—These Chinamen are slaves.

"Third—Therefore, those who employ these Chinamen are violating the very spirit and letter of the Constitution, and are deserving the censure and condemnation of their fellow men, and cannot be considered true American citizens. But, ladies and gentlemen, if these Chinamen are voluntary immigrants, and if every man of them be his own master, which is certainly the case, what then? In that case who is it that violates the very letter and spirit of the Constitution, and is unworthy to be called a true American citizen? Is it the man who employs such voluntary labor as he can command, at prices which he can afford? Or is it the man who attempts to dictate to us, free born American citizens, as to what persons we shall employ, and as to what wages we shall give?"

The statement made by Dr. Gibson that "our immigrant societies importing immigrants from Europe act upon precisely the same plan," is very true. In 1864 Congress passed an act to encourage immigration which provides that all contracts made in foreign countries by immigrants about to come to the United States, pledging the wages of their labor for a period not exceeding a year, to repay the expenses of their emigration shall be held good, and a written contract giving a lien for the passage money on any real estate afterwards acquired may be recorded, and shall be considered valid in law.

It is remarkable that this law was passed about the time when the constitutional amendment prohibiting all kinds of slavery in the United States was adopted; nevertheless, labor contracts made in advance with immigrants were not deemed personal servitude. Why China alone should be exempted from the benefit of this law, we confess it is hard to comprehend.

FOURTH. The other charges that the Chinese live in over-crowded tenements; that in consequence of this, filth accumulates, which breeds disease and the small-pox; that they keep gambling and opium dens, patronized even by white females and loungers, are thus masterly answered by the *Alta*, of December 6th, 1869: "We will admit that the Chinese live in over-crowded houses. What then? Is not that a common case among the poor in all large cities? That filth accumulates in a

"narrow space so inhabited, that stench and disease arise from it, are but natural consequences. But why are the poor people to be blamed for living in such uncomfortable quarters, if they have no means to obtain better ones? Must they be cast out into the streets on that account? Must they be banished from the city and State? Is, then, poverty an offence? Does humanity and religion approve of such treatment? But by their filth and disease the public health is endangered, is the reply. If so, who is at fault? There are sanitary laws with respect to health; there is a board of officers whose duty is to see that those laws are carried out. If the public suffer from the filth and disease of certain localities, the officers in charge are to blame more than the violators of the laws of health."

The fumigating process which is now being used in the Chinese quarters by the Board of Health, may be an excellent sanitary measure, but why are other filthy places than the Chinese exempt from it?

So likewise the civil authorities are to blame if gambling and opium dens are patronized by white loungers. But well did the *Alta* remark in the same article: "Why keep one eye open to the Chinese and close the other to 'the other races' of foreign and American nationalities, who keep whisky saloons, gambling houses, dance cellars, melodeons and brothels all over town, as Pixley said?

**FIFTH.** *In reply to the charges that the Chinese are not a homogeneous element,* Rev. Dr. Stone said in the lecture above mentioned, that "It is too soon to say that we cannot assimilate the Asiatic element. The experiment is new. The obstacles are novel. The influence of our institutions has not had time to produce effects." But is it not inconsistent to express fear of the Chinese influx on account of its immense numbers, and yet demand that the Chinese shall adopt our habits and customs? If their influence in our politics and civilization is dreaded now, what if they shall become Americanized? It seems really that prejudice has blinded the reason of the crusaders.

#### A PERTINENT QUESTION.

If the Chinese compare favorably in morality and submission to law with the other classes of people, if they contribute their proportion to our wealth and the development of the resources of the country, why should they not enjoy in common with other foreign residents the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by national stipulations?

However, it is a fact they suffer indignity that if perpetrated upon any other foreign country protected by treaty, it would cause a war with the United States.

And since a Congressional Committee is soon to investigate the effects which the Chinese influx has upon the moral and material interests of the country, it will be well for that body to inquire into some

#### GRIEVANCES OF WHICH THE CHINESE OFFER COMPLAINT.

*First.* When traveling on railroad cars and steamers, often they are not granted the same accommodations as other passengers have, notwithstanding they pay for the same privileges.

*Second.* A cubic air ordinance has been passed by the Board of Supervisors of the city of San Francisco, which is enforced against them alone, notwithstanding it is not observed by the poor of other nationalities, who likewise live in crowded tenements, nor by keepers of taverns.

The *Oakland News* thus portrayed the iniquity of this law: "If Chinamen who have neither money nor friends to hire a room demand free lodgings from strangers in a well ventilated quarter, it is almost certain that they will be refused; if they sleep in the public thoroughfares, it is as equally certain that they will be kicked and arrested; and if they obtain from compassion narrow quarters for sleeping they are arrested also. What can the wretched creatures do? How can they help themselves without employment, without money, without friends? Is poverty a crime? No, comes the answer from San Francisco. If it is not, why do you punish the inevitable consequence of it by fine or imprisonment? What is the object of this inhuman persecution? We all know. It is to discourage Chinese immigration, it is to benefit our citizens. No, never will any good result from injustice and oppression."

*Third.* They are frequently robbed by poll-tax collectors.

Here is how the *Oakland News* has described the practice, as it calls it, of "robbing the Chinamen": "In early days every ruffian who was 'broke' would consider himself a collector of the foreign miners' tax, and the Chinamen were continually exposed to raids by these 'tax collectors.' They appear to be playing the same game over in San Francisco, but in a more guarded manner. It is quite common for poll-tax collectors to station themselves by the gate at the ferry landing and permit no Chinamen to pass through without paying the poll-tax. Most of them work on this side of the Bay and have already paid their tax. Why don't the collector stop white men, also, and make them pay poll-tax? It is because any fellow who should attempt such a swindle on a man who knew how to take care of himself, would soon find himself in serious trouble. It is stated that when Chinamen have shown poll-tax receipts from this county, the San Francisco officers took them away and compelled the Chinamen to pay again. This outrageous practice should be stopped."

*Fourth.* They are often assaulted, beaten and pelted with stones by young hoodlums in the public streets, without receiving relief from the police, notwithstanding the repeated appeal made to them.

*Fifth.* An odious ordinance has been passed by the Board of Supervisors requiring the clipping of the prisoners' hair, on entering the jail, to the length of an inch from the scalp. Under this ordinance, not the hair alone is clipped from the Chinese, but their queues also are cut off, thus violating one of their ancient practices which is religiously kept by them, thereby causing disgrace and sorrow.

This barbarous ordinance was once before enacted by another Board of Supervisors, but it was vetoed by Mayor Alvord on constitutional grounds, both State and National. It was one of "the pagan ordinances" which the press here and abroad denounced with common accord. The Supervisors were threatened with arrest by the United States Marshal if they enforced the law, and Sheriff Adams refused to execute it. The *Alta* of June 16, 1873, thus urged the defeat of the barbarous law:

"There is not the slightest probability that the bob-tail ordinance will be passed over the Mayor's veto. The Board have discovered by this time that it is repugnant to the feelings of almost every citizen—certainly to those of a very large majority. The time has not come when American citizens can be submitted to the disgrace of having placed on our books an out-and-out Pagan ordinance. Some members who, from an honest conviction that they were doing right, voted in favor of the bobtail order, have also learned that it is illegal and unconstitutional, and cannot be

"enforced. It is known to many of the Supervisors that the United States Grand Jury were kept together until the very last hour allowed by law, "with no other object than to resist the enforcement of this ordinance, and "to punish all who should participate in the proposed violation of the law "of the nation. They also know that if the order should pass, and that an "attempt was made to enforce it, the United States Grand Jury would be "immediately impanelled and indictments presented to the Circuit Court "against all parties concerned. Setting aside, then, the impolitic, unchristian and absolutely barbarous character of the order, we presume no "Supervisor will willingly violate the law of the nation and the terms of a "treaty solemnly entered into between this country and China, by his vote."

Mayor Alvord's veto was sustained, and the so-called "bob-tail" order killed, whereupon the press everywhere praised the Mayor, and again denounced the infamous attempt. The New York *Tribune* said: "It is too late to attempt to stay any tide of immigration by special legislation discriminating against race or color."

After such emphatic rebuke by the press and public opinion, who would believe it possible for the same infamous ordinance, not only to be introduced again in the same Board, but to pass and even be approved as legal by one of our District Courts?

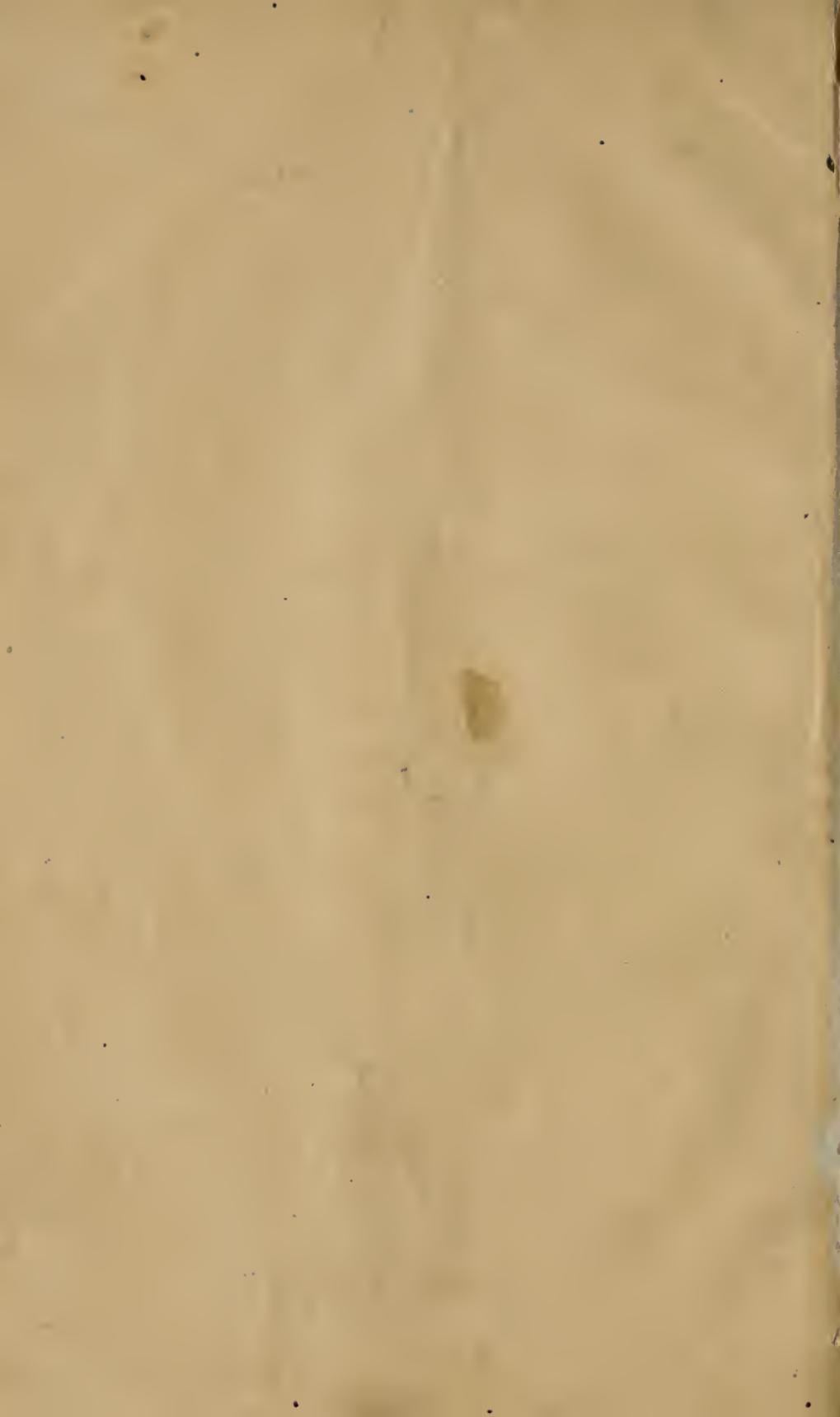
According to the Hon. W. S. Dwinelle's decision, the ordinance does not at all conflict with Sections 16 and 17 of the Civil Rights Act of May 31st. 1870. It is not an unusual practice of prison discipline to cut prisoners' hair and queues, (which in his estimation are one and the same thing); nor is it directed against the Chinese alone, notwithstanding they alone wear queues; nor is it a punishment at all (which the City Council cannot decree), though it causes deep sorrow and humiliation to the shorn Celestial who reveres that ancient custom.

To conclude, it may be asked in the eloquent language of Dr. Stone on the same subject: "We have drawn millions of fettered feet within our borders. We have asked no such questions as these: What is your birth? "What is your nationality? What is your religion? We have only asked, "will you come in as good subjects, under our laws? This, I say, has been "the American idea. Must we modify and restrict this welcome? Must "we change this policy? Has the time come when we must make special "rules, establish exceptions, and stand on guard? If a restrictive legislation is to be inaugurated, how far shall it extend? Shall it apply to one "race, or more than one? If new conditions are imposed in one direction, "what answer shall be given to the next demand in some other direction? "Is there to be an endless debate of class with class, as to the right of a "home under the American flag, and is our political arena to be clouded, "henceforth, with the dust of angry combattants on these new issues? You "see the question thus opened has a wild and perilous outlook. Once "begin this controversy and it may reach other interests and other fortunes "than those originally involved. It may set up new tests on the Atlantic, "as well as on the Pacific strand, for no man can fix bounds to its range."

—*Alta*, June 16, 1873.

X.





*The dignity of the American workman must be protected from the attack of Asiatic slave labor.*

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## CHINESE EXCLUSION.

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### REMARKS

OF

GEO. C. PERKINS,  
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

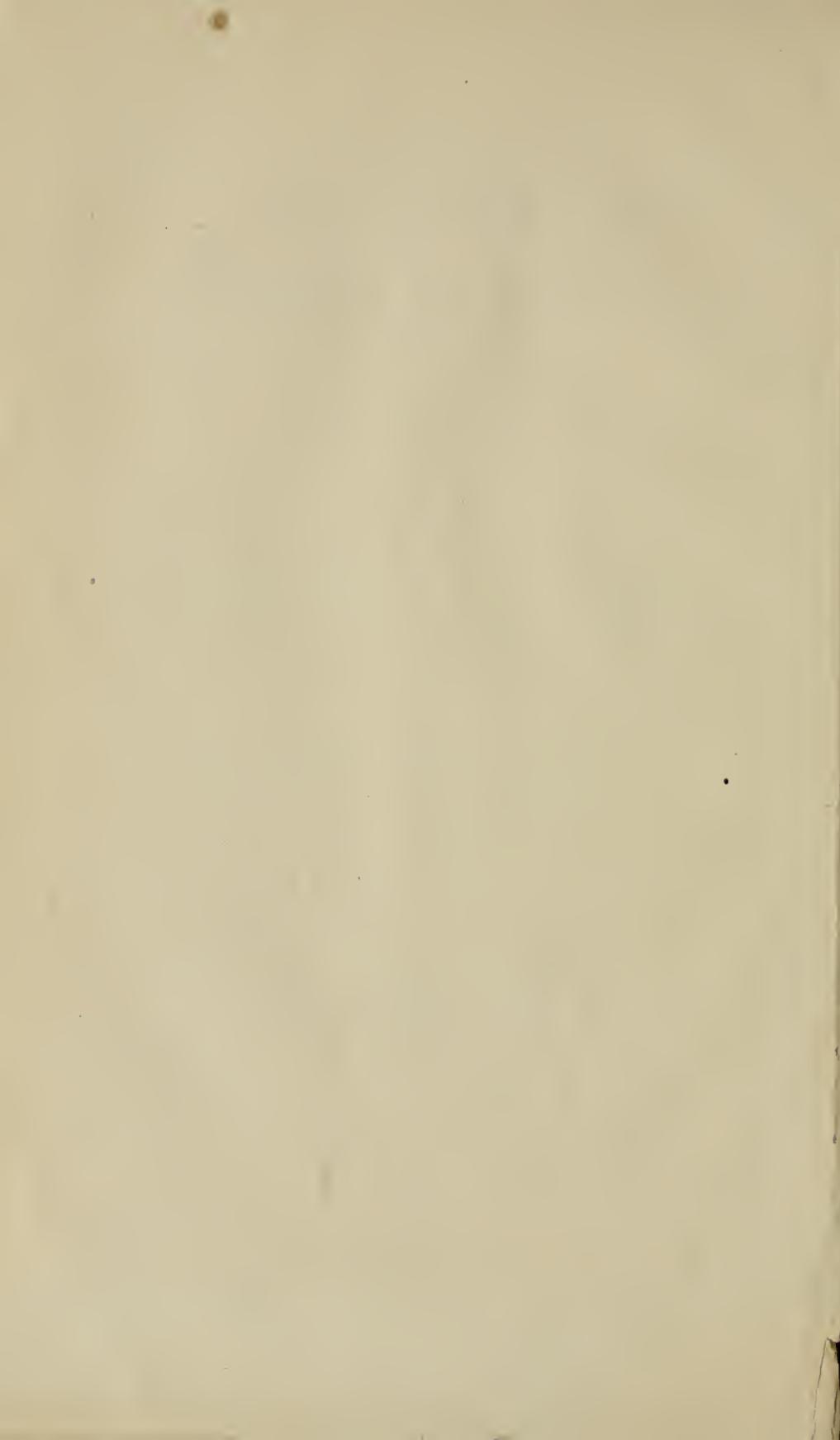
APRIL 8, 1902,

ON THE NATURE AND EFFECT OF THE COMPETITION  
OF CHINESE WITH AMERICAN LABOR, AND  
THE NECESSITY OF A STRINGENT  
EXCLUSION LAW.

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WASHINGTON.

1902.



## Exclusion of Chinese.

### REMARKS OF HON. GEO. C. PERKINS, OF CALIFORNIA, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *Tuesday, April 8, 1902.*

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2960) to prohibit the coming into and to regulate the residence within the United States, its Territories, and all possessions and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent—

Mr. PERKINS said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: As I have the honor to represent in part a State on the Pacific slope, and live in a great commercial city, the entrepôt for perhaps 75 per cent of the Chinese who have come into the United States, a city which is the headquarters of the Six Consolidated Chinese Companies, which are virtually those that bring the Chinese to this country, which make the laws for them while they are here, which direct the Chinese throughout our State, and one of which companies is usually the contractor for the Chinese employed in irrigation, on railroads, in great mining camps, and in the forests, it seems to me that perhaps it is not improper that I should relate to the Senate in a conversational way my own observations and experience during the forty years or more that I have been brought in contact with this undesirable class of immigrants who have come into the country.

Mr. President, I think there can be no doubt that nine out of every ten men and women in the United States believe that there should be placed restrictions more or less rigorous on Chinese immigration to this country. The better the opportunities for learning what the Chinese are and what effect their presence in large numbers would have in this country the greater is the proportion of Americans who believe in restrictive measures and the more rigorous they believe those restrictions should be. Whereas in the far Eastern States, whose people have been able to see little or nothing of Chinese life, customs, and habits, and where is found a morbid sentiment based on the assertion of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are equal," there may be found a considerable number of Americans who are willing to welcome among them such numbers of Chinese as are willing to come—on the other side of the continent, which has borne the brunt of the Chinese invasion, the voice of the people is practically unanimous in favor of exclusion. The State of California at a general election once voted on this question, and the result was 154,638 against immigration and 883 in favor. And even among the strongest pro-Chinese advocates there will ever be found, I think—as there must be among intelligent Americans who give any consideration

to the question—an intimation that what they so earnestly demand might under some circumstances be improper to grant. In fact, there is a weakness in their position of which they are so conscious that they can not help revealing it.

SIGNIFICANT ADMISSIONS.

Hon. John W. Foster, who appeared before the Senate Committee on Immigration in opposition to this bill, when pressed for an answer, said that he thought it "a wise thing to have a reasonable exclusion" of Chinese laborers, and Mr. Stephen W. Nickerson, representing the "opinion of a public (pro-Chinese) meeting" in Boston, was, I think, conscious of this weakness when he said that "even while this policy (of impartiality in treatment) does not always seem true in special instances nor in view of some temporary considerations, yet, we believe in the long run it is true." Mr. Nickerson said that while the people of his State have "always been a little theoretical for right" they have "also been practical for trade," yet the Arkwright Club, of Boston, which, representing textile manufacturers of New England, might be expected to be very "practical for trade," in a communication to the committee states that it recognizes the fact that "the laws against the admission into this country of that class of Chinese (laborers) can not be too stringent."

Thus the student of the political bearings of the question, the advocates of the moral obligations of the United States toward Chinese immigrants, and the representatives of those American industries which are most interested in trade with China, give evidence that they realize the fact that unrestricted Chinese immigration would be an evil. And this realization comes to every one, I think, whether, in considering the question, a "little theoretical for right," anxious to extend his trade, or fearful of political complications. The consideration of the problems by those of our Presidents who have had occasion to deal with them, has led to the same conclusions.

OPINIONS OF OUR PRESIDENTS.

President Grant, in a message to Congress, said:

I call the attention of Congress to a generally conceded fact that the great proportion of Chinese immigrants who come to our shores do not come voluntarily to make their homes with us, and their labor productive of general prosperity, but come under contracts with headmen, who own them almost absolutely. In a worse form does this apply to Chinese women. Hardly a perceptible percentage of them perform any honorable labor, but they are brought for shameful purposes, to the disgrace of the communities where settled, and to the great demoralization of the youth of those localities.

President Harrison said in a message to Congress:

While our supreme interests demand the exclusion of a laboring element which experience has shown to be incompatible with our social life, all steps to compass this imperative need should be accompanied with a recognition of the claim of those strangers now lawfully among us to humane and just treatment.

President Cleveland, in messages to Congress, said:

That the exclusion of Chinese labor is demanded in other countries where like conditions prevail is strongly evidenced in the Dominion of Canada, where Chinese immigration is now regulated by laws more exclusive than our own.

Chinese merchants have trading operations of magnitude throughout the world. They do not become citizens or subjects of the country where they may temporarily reside and trade; they continue to be subjects of China.

Much of this violence (against Chinese) can be traced to race prejudice and competition in labor. \* \* \* In opening our vast domain to alien elements the purpose of our lawgivers was to invite assimilation and not to provide

an arena for endless antagonism. The paramount duty of maintaining public order and defending the interests of our own people may require the adoption of measures of restriction.

The experiment of blending the social habits and mutual race idiosyncrasies of the Chinese laboring classes with those of the great body of the people of the United States has been proved by the experience of twenty years, and even since the Burlingame treaty of 1888, to be in every sense unwise, impolitic, and injurious to both nations. \* \* \* The admitted and paramount right and duty of every government to exclude from its borders all elements of foreign population which for any reason retard its prosperity or are detrimental to the moral and physical health of its people must be regarded as a recognized canon of international law and intercourse.

#### PUBLIC OPINION ADVERSE TO CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

It must, I think, be conceded that intelligent public opinion is opposed to Chinese immigration. The reasons are not far to seek. They are fundamental—racial—and are bound to make themselves felt in spite of theories as to moral obligations or the assumed needs of foreign trade. They bring to the front again that pitiless truth of the survival of the fittest. In the question of life or death which is involved the moral theories of the pro-Chinese advocates can scarcely have that weight which would be theirs were the future of our institutions and our race on this continent in no danger. When two races so radically different as Chinese and Americans freely intermingle in large numbers, there must either be assimilation or the subjection of one to the other.

The experience of the United States for fifty years, and of other countries for far longer periods, proves conclusively that the Chinese are not assimilative. Witness the Chinese colonies in San Francisco, Hongkong, Manila, Singapore, Penang, and Malakka. Their racial tendency is more strongly opposed to amalgamation with other races than that of the Hindoo or the Parsee. Far into future history they will be what they now are, in racial tendencies stronger than will or desire, and will remain aloof from all other peoples. If they are not assimilative they can be only a foreign body within our borders, and must, in the nature of things, either suppress or be suppressed. That alternative would surely come with unrestricted influx from China, in isolated communities at first, the struggle extending as the disparity in numbers decreased. Put 500,000 Chinese in and around Boston and there would be no more pro-Chinese mass meetings at which the bill of rights of Massachusetts could be invoked. Rather would their be raised the well-remembered slogan of Denis Kearney; and if the men of Massachusetts were not degenerate from colonial times, Boston Harbor would be filled with other products of the Flowery Kingdom than tea.

#### A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.

In the contest for survival between the American and the Chinese the latter has an overpowering advantage. Centuries before there was an Anglo-Saxon the Chinese had gained their present characteristics. Thousands of years of exclusion of all other peoples had made them unassimilative. Their country, walled against the external world, which they regarded with contempt, became crowded to the limit of support, and universal poverty was the result. For thousands of years the people of China have been compelled to live on the scantiest of means, and the result is a race—the fittest only surviving—which is probably capable of sustaining more hardships, of living on cheaper food, of needing less clothing and shelter, of having fewer wants, and the lowest estimate of life, as a whole, of any civilized people. They are,

therefore, capable of entering into competition with any race on earth with the chances in favor of their ultimate supremacy. To attempt to meet the Chinese on their own ground would mean decimation at once. No other civilized people could endure were it to adopt the Chinese standard, and that standard they would have to adopt were they to compete at all.

Such are the Chinese whom we seek to exclude from our shores—the Chinese belonging to that vast body of China's inhabitants which are ground between the exactions of the few officials and men of wealth and the limitations in the productiveness of the soil. They form the class from which come to us the Chinese who underbid our own workmen in every calling in which they see fit to engage. They are fitted to successfully enter into competition with labor in all parts of the United States. Here they find conditions which, at their worst, are far better than any they could find in China.

#### CHINESE AS INDUSTRIAL COMPETITORS.

The late Consul-General Wildman, in a report to the State Department December 27, 1900, says:

As long as labor has almost no value and flesh and blood is the cheapest thing on the market, I can not recommend American manufacturers to waste good printing matter and postage stamps on so impossible a field. \* \* \* The majority of the peasantry live at the rate of from 2 to 5 cents a day.

Two salient characteristics of the Chinese which alone would render them unfitted to become residents of this country are pointed out by United States Consul Henry B. Miller, of Chung-kiang. He states that—

The main thought in Chinese economy seems to be to find a place for a man to get wages, however small, regardless of whether he earns them or not. The idea that a man should be employed on the basis of his earning power and capacity is unknown.

Williams R. Wheeler, representing the Pacific Coast Jobbers' Association, in his testimony before the Industrial Commission, May 20, 1901, after stating emphatically that the reenactment of the exclusion law is desirable, said:

They (the Chinese) used to enter all lines of employment when immigration was unrestricted. There was scarcely a vocation that they did not take up. \* \* \* The disfavor with which we regard the Chinese is altogether a commercial one, for the reason that the Chinaman is conservative and continues to wear Chinese clothes and eat Chinese food, all of which enables him to live in Chinese fashion, herded together like so many cattle. This mode of life enables him to undersell and accept lower wages than the American workman. Furthermore, his earnings are sent back religiously to China, taking that much money out of the country, and the merchandise of most of his wants and requirements is brought from China to a large extent. He is not commercially a contributor to the upbuilding of this country.

#### HOW CHINESE CROWD OUT AMERICAN WORKMEN.

One of the most significant facts in relation to the effect of Chinese competition was placed before the Industrial Commission by Prof. W. A. Wyckoff, assistant professor of political economy in Princeton University. It will be remembered that Professor Wyckoff has made a study of the condition of labor in the United States at first hand, living as a workingman for two years, traveling from the Atlantic to the Pacific and securing work wherever he could at the wages offered. Those who have read his very interesting articles in one of the popular magazines will recollect that until he reached the Pacific coast he had no difficulty in procuring work. In fact, the demand for labor was greater than the supply outside of the large cities. No man willing to work need

go without employment. To the Industrial Commission he said that in his tramp from Los Angeles to San Francisco he came in contact with Chinese labor, "which effectually cut off the possibility of my finding employment on the railways. I could not have got work there as I did in Nebraska, for example." There were no mixed gangs at all. The workmen were Chinese, employed on the contract or padrone system.

ACTUAL SLAVERY A FEATURE OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION.

This contract or padrone system is rendered not only possible, but is the rule in the case of Chinese labor in this country, especially among those newly arrived. It can safely be said that not one out of ten coolies entering the United States comes here a free man. They are virtually slaves. As slaves they are shipped to America, and as slaves they labor here for a longer or shorter term. And this slavery is but the extension to this country of the system which is universal in China. There the practice of buying and selling men and women is nearly as common as the buying and selling of cattle among us. There are found slaves—men and women bought for cash—in domestic service, in stores, in manufacturing establishments, and in the fields. It is a system that is recognized by Chinese law, and has been in vogue for thousands of years. It is a feature of the Chinese civilization which is more firmly rooted than the principle of individual liberty is with us. The subject was given special study nearly a quarter of a century ago by Hon. David H. Bailey, United States consul-general at Shanghai, who, in a report to the State Department, described the system under which men and women were bound to service in almost every capacity. Under date of December 2, 1879, he says:

What I have since—

His last letter—

seen and learned only tends to make my convictions stronger that this is real slavery, and that it prevails in every part of the Empire and among Chinese wherever they go. I repeat that Chinese slavery is an outgrowth of the family organization, which, so far as we know, is as old as Chinese society itself. I see no hope for its abolition here but in the remodeling of the whole family organization—a herculean task beyond the vision of the most advanced Chinese statesmen of this generation.

It is significant to note that the colony of Hongkong, where it is now settled by a judicial decision of its supreme court and by admissions in solemn memorial of all the leading native residents that Chinese slavery exists and ever has existed as an essential feature of the Chinese political and social system, is the entrepôt for all Chinese emigration to the United States. And perhaps it is worth while to query whether that emigration is not thus shown to have in its every lineament the taint of human slavery.

THE TRAFFIC IN HUMAN BEINGS.

The principal Chinese residents of Hongkong prepared a petition to the Government, in which they protested against the stringent enforcement of the laws against slavery. Among the arguments used were the following:

In consequence of the propinquity of this colony of Hongkong to Canton, the custom of which province is to permit the people of the various places in the province to frequently sell their daughters and barter their sons that they may be preserved from death by starvation, the usage has become engrafted on this colony also. \* \* \* The purchase of boys is because the buyers have no descendants. \* \* \* The purchase of girls is because of the multitudinous duties of a household. \* \* \* Among the Chinese there has hitherto been the custom of drowning their daughters. If a stop is put to the sale of girls the custom spoken of will be yet more observed.

Regarding the custom of buying and selling human beings, Consul-General Bailey states that there are four classes of slaves

recognized by law: (1) Slaves of the imperial household; (2) concubines; (3) slaves held for labor; (4) slaves held for the purposes of prostitution. Of the second class, he says that it is a numerous one:

Every man who is able to buy and maintain has one or more concubines. These are invariably the subject of bargain and sale. \* \* \* The buying of young girls of poor people and rearing and educating them to be sold as concubines is an extensive business. \* \* \* A concubine is always a subject for sale or hire. \* \* \* There are no limits to the supply of female children for this purpose.

The third class, general slaves, is also numerous:

Wherever in the Empire there is poverty and wealth these children are bought and sold. \* \* \* Male and female slaves labor in the fields. \* \* \* Others are used in the manufacture of various goods. Large numbers of all ages may be seen in the cities in all trades. Many are expert mechanics. Some bound till certain debts are discharged; others for life.

The penal code of China recognizes specifically these slaves and prescribes the punishment for their offenses. Consul-General Bailey recites these laws, which specifically discriminate between the free and the slave, awarding different punishments for the same offenses according as it is committed by a member of one or the other classes.

#### THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY FOLLOWS THE CHINESE TO AMERICA.

And this is the system which is imported into the United States with cooly labor and which would supplant free labor in field and workshop were the opportunity given. The Industrial Commission made, through a special agent, a careful study of the results of Chinese immigration in California, the only locality where the number of Chinese is large enough to enable such immigration to give sign of its ultimate effect were it unrestricted. The report says—

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator at this point in his interesting remarks whether that system of slavery continues after they are here?

Mr. PERKINS. It virtually continues.

Mr. HOAR. Whose slaves are they?

Mr. PERKINS. They come here under a contract to one of the Consolidated Six Chinese Companies. The companies advance the money for their passage here and they virtually control them while they are in this country, agreeing to care for them under certain conditions when they are sick, and when they die, after they have paid a certain amount of money into the fund, their bones are sent back to China.

Mr. HOAR. Do their wages go to them or to the companies?

Mr. PERKINS. A certain percentage of their wages goes to the companies. They pay a tribute, and it is estimated that from 25 to 50 per cent of their wages is paid into one of the six companies.

Mr. HOAR. Who pays it?

Mr. PERKINS. The person who is earning it.

Mr. HOAR. So it is paid by the Chinaman when he is here and has an employer. Now, what is the security of the owner of the slave for getting that part of his wage?

Mr. PERKINS. The security is, first, a superstition. Another reason is that their families in China are held as hostages for their safe return. Another reason is that of the highbinder. If they do not pay their debts; if they do not contribute the money

that they have agreed to contribute under their contract, they are punished in a manner ranging from severe personal chastisement to the taking of their lives in some cases.

WHAT A CHINESE COLONY IS LIKE.

I was about to read from testimony before the Industrial Commission, a Commission with which the Senator is familiar, as he helped to create it. They sent a part of the Commission to San Francisco, who took this testimony:

The Chinese colony in the city of San Francisco is a perfect beehive of busy industry. The problem of cheap living has been solved by this peculiar race. Among the lower and common laboring classes, such as are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the cost of living has been reduced to the minimum and the wages paid are much less than any white laborer can live upon. The Chinese cooly and common laborer seems from instinct to be able to adapt himself to conditions under which no white laborer can live. In many instances, especially in agricultural pursuits, cooly labor has absolutely displaced white labor in the Pacific coast States.

Hundreds of factories and workshops in the city of San Francisco are in full operation, employing thousands of Chinese operatives, who are manufacturing boots and shoes, brooms, men's clothing, shirts, shirt waists, ladies' skirts, and, indeed, garments of all kinds, that find their way not only into Western, but Eastern markets as well, displacing in many instances the products of our Eastern workshops and factories. So that, as stated, this question is not one which interests the Pacific States alone, but which is of vital concern to the laboring interests of the entire nation.

An attempt was made by the special agent of the Commission to secure a census of Chinese manufactures in San Francisco, but it was soon found that complete statistics could not be obtained.

One of the chief characteristics of the Chinese race—

Says the agent—

is secretiveness in all affairs pertaining to their business. All inquiries at their stores, manufactorys, and places of business were met with the ever-ready response, "Me no sabee."

SOME OF THE TRADES INVADED BY THE CHINESE.

Yet a vigorous effort was made and some data, though very incomplete, were obtained. In Chinatown alone, which embraces only eight or ten city blocks, there were found by actual count, in such places as access could be secured, 2,579 Chinese engaged in six callings, in which they competed directly with white labor, as follows:

Industry.	Number of workmen.	Average hours per day.	Average daily wages.
Boots and shoes.....	251	11 to 12	\$1.00
Shirts.....	195	11 to 12	1.00
Men's clothing.....	335	11 to 12	1.00
Overalls.....	430	11 to 12	1.00
Ladies' underclothing.....	168	11 to 12	1.00
Manufacture of cigars.....	1,200	10 to 14	-----

Yet this is only a very imperfect record of even these industries in Chinatown alone, and does not include the number of workers within the ten blocks in the business of shoemaking, tailoring, jewelry manufacturing, and scores of other callings competing directly with white labor. No effort was made to give data of Chinese industries outside of Chinatown. Regarding cigar making, the report says:

The scale of prices varies, of course, with the different grades of cigars, and averages from 50 per cent to 33 per cent less than the union prices on the different grades of cigars. White labor in the cigar manufacturing industry has been driven from the field, and San Francisco, instead of supporting

from 2,000 to 3,000 white cigar makers, as formerly, has to-day less than 200 union cigar makers, who have remained to struggle against this hopeless competition. What has been true of the cigar industry has been and will be true of every industry in which American labor is met with Asiatic competition. It is in every instance a bloodless struggle, in which the white man must surrender and go down in humiliating defeat.

THE KEARNEY RIOTS A WARNING.

Yet, were immigration of these yellow competitors of white labor permitted, the Kearney riots in 1877-78 gave warning that the struggle would not be bloodless.

The figures given above relate to a very small part of the city of San Francisco. They would be surprisingly large were an accurate census of the whole city possible. It would then be seen what inroads have been made in the field of white labor. But an accurate enumeration is impossible for it is prevented by the natural secretiveness of the Chinese, rendered more effective by reason of the knowledge that it is for their interest to prevent the extent of their competition from becoming known. In mining, however, there is less chance for concealment, and it is found that in California alone there are 8,000 Chinese miners to 16,000 whites.

And these Chinese come among us not as free men bringing their families, desirous of taking up their residence here and becoming good Americans, as do our immigrants from Europe, but they come in consequence of a bill of sale of their bodies for a term of years, to work for any wage that can be obtained, to live on the poorest and the least food, in the hope that some day they will be able to purchase their freedom and return to their home in China.

Mr. SCOTT. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. SCOTT. Can the Senator give me an idea of the proportion of Chinese who are brought before the police courts and other courts for the commission of crime as compared with the number of population in the city of San Francisco?

Mr. PERKINS. I have the data, which I will come to later.

Mr. SCOTT. Oh, excuse me.

Mr. PERKINS. I took it from the State prison statistics, not from those of the halls of justice and the jails. With the Senator's permission, I will wait until I reach that point.

Mr. SCOTT. Certainly.

CRIMINAL COURTS FILLED WITH CHINESE OFFENDERS.

Mr. PERKINS. I have obtained the percentage of the higher crimes. I may say, however, in passing, that our police courts are filled with Chinese offenders. Perhaps the policemen may be more vigilant in arresting Chinese than others, yet the criminal class of Chinese is very large. I have obtained the data from our prisons. I wrote to the wardens of our different prisons and also to the superintendents of our asylums for the insane and other State institutions. I will give the Senator the percentage later.

Mr. SCOTT. I am much obliged to the Senator. I merely wanted to know what the pro rata was as compared with the entire population.

Mr. PERKINS. It does not interrupt me in the least to have any Senator ask me a question. I have been among the Chinese there. I merchandised for a great many years. I know their virtues if they have any. Their many vicious habits and their many faults are matters of public notoriety.

Mr. President, I wish to say here, and I want to reiterate it again and again, we want in this country men and women who believe in republican institutions, who believe in public schools, and raise their children up to be, if not statesmen, good citizens. Every man is a sovereign in this land, and we want no class of people, I care not from what country they may come, who do not assimilate with our people. We want only those to come here who come because they believe in our institutions and worship at the shrine of freedom. When a foreigner comes with that spirit I am ready to welcome him. The Chinese have no sympathy with and no affection for our people or our institutions. For that reason I am opposed to their coming into this country. They come like locusts to sweep its substance from our land to carry it back to their own native heath.

#### CHINA HOLDS THE EMIGRANT'S FAMILY AS HOSTAGES.

Not one of them has a desire or intention to remain here. One reason why his great wish is to return will be found in this extract from the report of Consul-General Bailey, above referred to:

When a Chinese subject goes out to any other country, all the other members of his family remaining in China are so many hostages that he will return and that he will maintain his allegiance to his country. The horrible punishment which may lawfully be inflicted on these hostages is sufficient to account for the rarity of instances of naturalization which have occurred in the history of Chinese emigration to the United States.

But Chinese coolies come to us in spite of exclusion acts, sent over from China in answer to the demand of the Chinese in America who have found a rich field for profit in buying and selling human labor. There is one organization of Chinamen in San Francisco known as the "Bahn Gar," which means "a Chinaman or Chinese who are in the business of importing Chinese coolies or slaves." Regarding the labor thus imported the special agent of the Industrial Commission says:

The hundreds of cooly laborers whom they succeed in bringing into the country are hired out in "gangs," under the direction of a "boss," who collects their wages, the principal part of which is paid over to some company of the highbinders. The condition of this class of laborers is little better than that of slaves. They have little or no personal freedom; they are compelled to work on year after year and receive but a small portion of the fruits of their toil. If any one of them revolts against his masters or seeks to assert his personal liberty he is promptly assassinated.

Or he is otherwise harshly dealt with. It may be thought by the pro-Chinese advocates that the agent has drawn on his imagination in regard to this punishment, but he is strictly within the truth. Not only is the cooly slave assassinated, but the independent and wealthy merchant who may protest against any of the doings of the slave-dealing organizations is exposed to death, and more than one has been killed for purposes of punishment and intimidation of others, as the criminal records of San Francisco abundantly prove.

#### THE TRADE IN CHINESE WOMEN.

But this slavery of mere laborers is not the worst kind that is imported with the Chinese immigrant. The trade in women for the vilest of purposes is as well established in this country as it is in China, where it is so thoroughly rooted that it may be called one of the national institutions. Consul-General Bailey, in the report above referred to, states that the fourth class of Chinese slaves are prostitutes. This class is very large, and is, he says, to be found in every city and village of China. Every member of

the class is a slave—is bought and sold for so much money. In his report he says:

The law, or custom older than any existing law, permits such traffic. \* \* \* In the crowded streets of cities and in the more thinly settled country regions fine-looking female children are kidnaped and carried to distant places, and sold to be raised for these vile purposes.

Women are bought or kidnaped in Chinese towns and villages and sent to San Francisco, there to be sold at prices ranging from \$1,500 to \$3,000. The rescue homes established by missionary societies are filled with girls who have escaped from the dens to which they were consigned by their purchasers, running the risk of death at the hands of the slave-dealing organizations rather than longer endure the life they were compelled to lead. Not all are fortunate enough to avoid the highbinder pistol or knife, as the many murders of the rescued evidence. From the inmates of these mission homes are obtained details of the sale of girls in China by their parents. Some of these accounts will be found in the report of the Industrial Commission.

#### THE SYSTEM OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

This slave class is to a great extent recruited from the class of domestic slaves which, as before pointed out, is one of the institutions of China. On this point Consul-General Bailey forwarded to the State Department a copy of a declaration by the chief justice of the court at Hongkong, in passing sentence on Chinese guilty of trafficking in children, in which the court says:

It is, I believe, an admitted duty that when the young girl (in domestic service) grows up and becomes marriageable she is married, but then it is the custom that the husband buys her, and her master receives the price always paid for a wife while he has received the girl's services for simple maintenance, so that according to the marriageable excess in the price of the bride over the price he paid for the girl he is a gainer, and the purchase of the child produces a good return. But the picture has another aspect; what—if the master is brutal and the mistress jealous—becomes of the poor girl? Certain recent cases show that she is sold to become a prostitute here or at Singapore or in California, a fate often worse than death to the girl, at a highly remunerative price to the brute, the master.

#### THE TRUE FAMILY LIFE IMPOSSIBLE.

Nothing is more distinctive of the Chinese than the way in which they treat their women, of which illustration has been given. Actual or virtual slavery is their lot. The wife only has a semblance of freedom, and she is surrounded by actual slaves—girls bought for so much cash—serving as concubines for her husband or as domestics about the house. But these wives, except in a few isolated instances, do not accompany their husbands abroad. They are left at home as hostages, and it is to see them and to conform to the requirements of their religious belief and superstition as to duty to ancestors that the Chinaman makes his periodical visits home. Such women as are generally found in domestic establishments among our Chinese population may safely be classed among those slaves known to the Chinese law as concubines. The true family life of the Chinaman is not found here; but if it were the conditions would not be changed—they would simply be intensified.

#### THE DANGER FROM LÉPROSY.

These are not all of the objections which might be offered to immigration from China. There also comes with it the danger of physical contamination. Dr. Albert S. Ashmead, of New York, late foreign medical director of the Tokyo hospital, Japan,

gives some interesting facts regarding leprosy among the Chinese, which have an important bearing upon the question of Chinese exclusion. He quotes Dr. Cantie as saying:

Leprosy in the East centers in southeastern China. The cooly emigrants come chiefly from Kwangtung and Fokien. Three-fourths of cooly emigrants are from these provinces, and the spread of leprosy in the Malay Peninsula, in the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese East Indies and in Oceania has been in all cases coincident and concurrent with the immigration and residence of coolies from those provinces. In no instance over this vast area has any native acquired leprosy except where Chinese coolies have settled. One leprous Chinaman inoculated Hawaii. Chinese immigrants brought leprosy to Japan.

According to the *Jiji Shimpo* (Daily News) of Tokyo, the most influential newspaper in the Empire of Japan, the number of known lepers in that country is 23,647. In the opinion of Dr. Ashmead, the actual number is in excess of 100,000. Not one province of the Empire is free from the disease. Such is the result in Japan of the contagion brought from China, yet, as has been pointed out, nearly all our Chinese immigrants come from two leprosy-infected provinces. To what extent the disease exists in the two provinces from which come the Chinese immigrants to this country is apparent from the following from a letter of Dr. Ashmead:

In the province of Fukien it (leprosy) is a veritable epidemic. Kwantung Province (Canton) is called the cradle of leprosy. In one leper asylum there are 800 lepers, and in the other over 1,000. In a leper village just outside of Canton there are 650 lepers. Several hundred lepers live on the boats near Canton. In Swatow, near the mouth of the Han River, which serves as the place of embarkation for the enormous cooly trade to America, leprosy prevails extensively. Here there are villages called leper settlements, but there is no segregation, and the lepers are allowed to move about freely. \* \* \*

In Hongkong, too, leprosy is prevalent. In two and one-half years 125 lepers presented themselves at the Alice Memorial Hospital. In seven years, from 1880 to 1886, there developed on the island of Hongkong, unknown to the British Government even, from 600 to 700 lepers.

That leprosy exists among the Chinese in California is well known, for cases have often been found. But how widely spread it is can not be ascertained, for the Chinaman afflicted conceals his disease from others as long as possible, and when discovered it is concealed from the American officials by the victim's friends. There is thus a constant menace to the health of the community in which is gathered a large number of Chinamen. The sources from which the disease may be imported are many and fertile enough to excite alarm even with the most rigorous of exclusion laws.

#### THE DANGER FROM CHINESE GUILDS.

Still another danger would be brought among us were the pro-Chinese advocates to have their way. Chinese population which had become intrenched, as it would after a time become, in American productive industry would introduce a trades-union system compared with which the American system is child's play. China is a nation in which the guild principle is a necessary part of the industrial system. It exists among the mercantile class as well as among the members of the handicrafts. John Fowler, United States consul at Ningpo, China, has this to say about working-men's guilds, in a report to the State Department:

They are very similar in functions and institutions to the trade unions of England. \* \* \* In such guilds there is always a sum held in reserve to support members on a strike, for strikes are an institution not wholly belonging to the European or American continents.

In addition to the mercantile and handicraft guilds, there are the guilds which are formed by the people from the same town or province when living in other than the place of their birth. Such guilds follow the Chinaman everywhere, and when a considerable number of Chinese from the same district are gathered together there is founded a guild which binds them in a homogeneous whole for self-protection and aggressive action against those by whom they are surrounded, if such action can in any way promote their own interests. Consul Fowler says that in dealing with such guilds in China "consuls and diplomats have a very grave matter on their hands." So would the United States Government also have a grave matter on its hands were there permitted among us a large Chinese population, which would surely come were the bars of restriction lowered.

#### WHY THE CHINESE MENACE OUR INSTITUTIONS.

What has been said will give some idea of the character of the immigrants that we desire to exclude from our shores. It is easy to infer, from the facts given, something of the nature of the communities that would be formed were our pro-Chinese friends' desire complied with. The 25,000 Chinese in San Francisco offer an opportunity for learning how well fitted they are to enter upon the course of life that Americans have laid out for themselves. Bringing with them slavery, concubinage, prostitution, the opium vice, the disease of leprosy, the offensive and defensive organization of clans and guilds, the lowest standard of living known, and a detestation of the people among whom they live and with whom they will not even leave their bones when dead, they form a community within a community, and there live the Chinese life.

They have their terrorists' societies, their laws and customs, enforced with the barbarity which characterizes such enforcement in China, and they yield only outward obedience to the law of the land. They make use of our courts, by means of false witnesses, to reach with punishment some offender against themselves, and by the same means prevent justice from being done in cases in which they are a party. They are rigidly organized to evade all laws bearing hard upon them, and the organization is so perfect that evasion is not difficult. They herd together by thousands in small space, caring nothing for shelter beyond the four walls and roof, and creating a district of dirt and filth where once were cleanliness and beauty. Within the dark and smoky rookeries where they dwell they open dens for the demoralization of the white youths who surround them. They neither build nor repair, beautify nor cleanse, and their quarter reverts to the conditions found in the densely crowded cities of China. In such a sink, is it to be wondered at that nothing American can find a place: that no idea born of our civilization can find a judgment: that the most prominent result is crime? Although the Chinese are only 3 per cent of the population of the State, they furnish 4 per cent of the criminals under sentence in the prisons of the State.

#### CRIME AMONG THE CHINESE.

These figures were furnished me by the wardens of our respective prisons, taken from the records of the prisons, and they can not truthfully be gainsaid. Although the Chinese form only 4 per cent of the inmates of the prisons, those charged with murder form 15 per cent of those under sentence on this charge. Whereas in the prisons there are 781 white prisoners under sen-

tence for crimes, less than burglary, there are only 3 Chinese; all the rest, 84 in number, being under sentence for crimes ranging from murder to attempted burglary. The Chinese criminal, therefore, is seen to be one who commits the greatest of the crimes punishable by law, murder standing at the head of the list, which shows what little regard they have for human life. Attacks on life number 46 out of a total of 87 convictions. Fifty-three per cent of the Chinese in our State prisons are convicted either of murder or of attempts to kill. Robbery and burglary furnish the remainder of the crimes for which Chinese are convicted. From this showing it is easy to judge of the state of society in a Chinese community in this country. Life is held cheap, and is taken without compunction and for the slightest cause. It is as valueless among the Chinese in America as it is in China.

CHINESE SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the honorable Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLAPP in the chair). Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Senator from California whether he is willing to impose the evils which he has so graphically described on the Philippine Islands?

Mr. PERKINS. Most certainly not; and for that reason I shall be glad to join with my honorable and learned friend the distinguished statesman from Massachusetts in urging the Philippine Commission to pass the most stringent laws keeping out this class of Chinese highbinders from the Philippine Islands.

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, this bill absolutely excludes the coming of Chinese from the Philippine Islands.

Mr. HOAR. I was asking the Senator from California what he advised.

Mr. PERKINS. I am full of good advice, Mr. President, and certainly we need no such characters as the highbinders. I have not much respect for the Malays as a class—I have been shipmate with them in my younger days—but still I think they are an improvement on the Chinese.

INSANITY AMONG CHINESE CAUSED BY OPIUM.

The report of the general superintendent of State hospitals in California shows that there are nearly 200 insane Chinamen in the State institutions, and here is to be found one of the results of the Chinaman's predominant vice—opium smoking. I am told the Chinese acquired that habit from the British or Anglo-Saxons, who taught them how to smoke and use opium. As the Good Book tells us that the iniquity of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, I do not know but the British are receiving some punishment for it now in South Africa.

The superintendent says that the use of opium cuts a considerable figure in these cases. The proportion of Chinese insane is 43 per 10,000 Chinese inhabitants, while white insane patients are at the rate of only 37 per 10,000 of white population. That is a large percentage for the whites; but it will not appear so large when you bear in mind the cosmopolitan character of the people in the city of San Francisco, where 70 different dialects are spoken, and

that every country and nation in the world is represented in California—many who have been disappointed elsewhere coming there in pursuit of wealth, and becoming broken down in health have become insane—with that large percentage of insane white people, yet the Chinese outnumber them by some 10 or 15 per cent. The increased proportion of insane among Chinese is due to the use of opium. The Chinese criminals and insane Chinese are supported by the taxpayers of California, as in not a single instance has it been possible to collect from their relatives or friends anything for their maintenance in the State institutions.

#### OUR CIVILIZATION AT STAKE.

Such is the character of the communities that are formed in this country by immigrants from China. They are subversive of every idea on which our own civilization is based, and are a menace of which notice must be taken in time and effectual safeguards erected and constantly maintained.

The little Republic of Nicaragua was wise in time, for it early saw the danger impending and took measures to avert it. In October, 1897, the Nicaraguan Government issued a decree which absolutely prohibits Chinese going into Nicaragua. The reasons for this action are set forth by United States Consul Thomas O'Hara, who wrote to the State Department in 1899 on this subject. There were no Chinese on that coast previous to 1886, but those who arrived in the next ten years made it clearly apparent that they would, if their numbers increased, be a serious injury to the country.

It is true—

Wrote Consul O'Hara—

that the working of the mines by the Chinese does not add materially to the wealth and prosperity of the country. They construct neither buildings, highways, nor railways. They are satisfied with bare roofs. They are willing to work years for a few pounds of gold, and they have no use for modern machinery or improvements. Their wants are simple and do not increase when their earnings increase. They patronize Chinese stores exclusively, and the gold found by Chinese miners, whether exchanged for supplies or retained by themselves, eventually goes to China.

#### HOW OUR CANADIAN NEIGHBORS DEAL WITH CHINESE.

Canada and British Columbia, our neighbors bordering on the north, several years ago enacted much more stringent laws relating to the immigration of Chinese than our present restriction law. No vessel is permitted to bring into that country more than 1 Chinese for every 100 tons register of the vessel; and, in addition, the vessel must pay the Government \$100 head tax for every Chinese that is permitted to land. It is now proposed to raise this tax to \$500, as appears from the following telegram from Ottawa:

Mongols menace industrial peace, say the immigration commissioners—Canadian officials report in favor of Chinese exclusion by raising the per capita tax to \$500.—Ottawa, Ontario, February 27.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It has not been done, so far as the Senator knows, has it?

Mr. PERKINS. Well, I will give you the benefit of what a statesman says ought to be done. If for any reason one of the houses of the Canadian parliament has not passed such an act, then they have an opportunity of redeeming themselves. The telegram continues:

The Chinese report presented to parliament to-day covers over 800 pages of typewriting. The conclusion which the commissioners arrive at is that Chinese retard white immigrants, who would make good citizens and settlers.

It is said that the presence of Chinese is dangerous to the industrial peace of the community where they reside. They carry away to their own country all their earnings, and spend little or nothing in Canada. In the opinion of the commissioners it is impossible for the province of British Columbia to take its place and part in the Dominion unless its population is free from any taint of servile labor and is imbued with a sense of duties and responsibilities appertaining to citizenship.

I know that is the sentiment of my friend from Connecticut.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, I simply asked the Senator a question for the purpose of information. I wanted to know whether or not such an act as that had been passed by the Dominion Parliament. I am very anxious to know.

Mr. PERKINS. I am unable to answer that question. I understood the Senator to say that such an act had not been passed. I beg the Senator's pardon.

The telegram further says:

The commissioners approve of the views of the legislature of British Columbia as to the grave injury that would follow an influx of Chinese laborers.

Then follows the findings of the commission. Messrs. Clute and Foley favored an immediate raising of the per capita tax to \$500, and Mr. Munn thought a trial for two years at \$300 at first would be best, then raising it to \$500.

I will say to the Senator from Connecticut that I know the present law providing for a head tax of \$100 on every Chinaman brought into Canada is in force. Whether or not this measure is in force or not, I am unable to say.

#### NO BENEFIT TO THE COUNTRY FROM CHINESE CAPITAL.

That none of the earnings of the Chinese in this country are invested here is well known. All the savings of these shrewd money-makers go eventually to China. No benefit accrues to our own country from the capital amassed by our Chinese residents. That the business to which they give rise is great is made manifest by the records of the port of San Francisco alone. In a communication to the Industrial Commission's special agent, the late Hon. John P. Jackson, collector of customs of San Francisco, stated that of \$603,644 collected in customs duties at that port in October, 1899, Chinese paid \$175,836, considerably more than one-fourth of the whole. In November, out of \$508,560 collected, Chinese paid \$156,787.

These two months—

He said—

are not at all peculiar, but are noted as the latest evidences of the business. I have before me a long list of Chinese merchants who pay annually customs duties running from \$10,000 to \$200,000 each, four of them paying over \$100,000 annually, and two firms contributing yearly between \$150,000 and \$200,000 to the Government coffers.

Mr. QUARLES. Where was that?

Mr. PERKINS. It was in San Francisco, and relates to the duties which are paid by Chinese in that city. Yet you will seek in vain in San Francisco for material evidences in the shape of buildings or improvements of any kind which would be conspicuous were such a large import business carried on by men of our own civilization. San Francisco, the State of California, and no State in the Union gain anything from this very large Chinese trade. Its profits and the other great profits that it represents find their way to China, and by so much is our city the loser.

#### CHINESE MERCHANTS AND THE EXCLUSION LAW.

This brings prominently forward the bearing of the proposed law on the class of Chinese merchants. Objection is made that

the definition of merchant, set forth in the bill, is too stringent. But upon consideration I do not think it will be found to be so. It is perfectly clear that the great business transacted by the Chinese firms in San Francisco precludes the possibility of a considerable portion of the Chinese population being engaged in trade. In other words, a very small proportion of our Chinese can be merchants, for their business necessitates customers, who must be earners of wages, and as they do business with Chinese exclusively these wage-earners must be Chinese. It is therefore evident that the bulk of our Chinese population—probably 90 per cent—are wage-earners engaged in industrial pursuits.

When, therefore, we find more than 10 or 15 per cent of those applying for admission to the United States claiming that they are merchants we may know that something is radically wrong. And that something is radically wrong is evidenced by the returns of the Chinese bureau at San Francisco giving the number of Chinese applying for admission to the United States. These returns show that from July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1898, of 3,806 applying for admission, 1,193 claimed to be merchants or other exempts, or nearly one-third of the whole number, which includes children and women. This will be found to be about the proportion from year to year. Now, it will be recognized as true that it does not require 1,200 merchants to supply 2,600 laborers. The proportion of 26 merchants to 3,800 laborers would be nearer the true proportion, and the inference is clear that, with very few exceptions, the Chinese applying for admission are not and will not become merchants, but will join that great army of wage-earners on whom the merchants live. The merchants themselves are interested in keeping the ranks of this army full, and there is ground for belief that they assist coolies in entering the United States as business men for the sake of maintaining the demand for the wares in which they deal.

#### HOW THE EXCLUSION LAW IS EVADED.

On this point Mr. J. D. Putnam, Chinese inspector at Los Angeles, in a communication to the Industrial Commission, says:

They usually come as one of two classes. Of the first class, I believe the greater number claim to be native-born Americans. Second, those presenting themselves with merchants' papers (which papers they seem to have no difficulty in procuring white men to certify to as Chinese well known to them as merchants). There is not one white man in ten who has made the exclusion act a special study or who knows what constitutes a Chinese merchant. When they wish to procure a signer, merchants will introduce to such person a Chinese whom they state is a partner and a member of their company and who they claim is the party for whom such signer is to certify. After the signer of a certificate sees his name upon said certificate, upon its being returned for investigation, the result universally is that he is ready to make a statement to the inspector to the effect that the photograph represents some party well known to him. Should he state the contrary a Chinese lawyer will prepare an affidavit and present it to him, which he usually signs. Then the attorney presents the sworn evidence as rebuttal to the inspector's report. The inspector not being authorized to administer an oath (which I believe is an error), he is without power.

There is not one out of ten Chinese styling themselves as merchants, and so registered, who are genuine merchants except in name, as many a store or firm claims to have from \$10,000 to \$15,000 capital, and as having a list filed in the custom-house of from 5 to 15 partners, whose stock could be removed at one time in a single express wagon, and usually one or two men found about the store, the balance cooking or gardening or running gambling rooms until just before they wish to visit China, and still they have no trouble in procuring signers to their papers as being bona fide merchants. An example should be made of signers of such certificates by bringing them before the grand jury.

## DEFINITION OF MERCHANT CAN NOT BE TOO STRICT.

I think it plain, therefore, that the law should leave no possible loophole through which coolies can enter the United States as merchants. The definition of a merchant can not be too strict or too rigorously applied. Doubtless many will remember the scandal that was occasioned in San Francisco several years ago through the laxity in this respect. It was noticed that there was a very large immigration of Chinese, and investigation showed that they were landed as merchants. As time passed, it was also noticed that the number of merchants coming by each steamer constantly increased. It began to look as though there would soon be as large an immigration of Chinamen as before the passage of the exclusion law. An investigation was made. The landing papers were found to be apparently correct. They were made out according to requirements and vouched for the mercantile character of the bearers. But a visit to the dock where the next steamer from China came in gave evidence of widespread fraud. The so-called merchants were seen, even by the least experienced, to be only coolies. They came herded between decks like cattle, bearing with them their baggage in the well-known basket, with bamboo pole, used by street peddlers and carriers. They came dirty and ill clothed, with faces of the type seen only among the coolies, and were of that class of intelligence found only among them. Yet they were landed as merchants, students, or travelers, and no genuine Chinese merchant protested.

An investigation followed, and corruption of the worst kind was unearthed. By collusion between officials in California and agents in China the needed certificates were procured and issued by thousands to cooly laborers, who found easy access to the United States. Money for bribes and to carry out the plans of the conspiracy was found in abundance, and a rich harvest was reaped for a very long time. But the exposure came and the guilty ones were punished, and since then there has not been put in operation such a bold and barefaced attempt to evade the law. But that it is evaded in a similar way, but without collusion on the part of Government officials, is as certain now as it was then, and it is this evasion that the definition of "merchant" in the present bill is designed to prevent.

## THE TRUE MERCHANT NOT INCONVENIENCED.

No one is more willing than I to discriminate between the true Chinese scholar and merchant and the cooly laborer. Between them is a vast gulf, broad and deep, which the cooly can never pass. But the educated and cultivated Chinamen in America are few in number. When he appears at the gang plank of a China steamer he can be readily recognized. He is a man keen and intelligent, with more or less knowledge of affairs, and, when he can escape somewhat from his habitual distrust of Americans, pleasant to meet. The definition of "merchant" in this bill can not affect him. He can easily fulfill all the requirements of the law. So, too, can the student or traveler. It is not against these classes that the definitions complained of are aimed, but against the cooly who masquerades under those designations and fraudulently enters this country to take his place among the Asiatic competitors of the American workman.

The field for competition which the Chinese find in this country is vast—so vast and so profitable that without restrictions it

would be filled to overflowing with Asiatic labor. The profits are so large as not only to tempt voluntary emigration, but has given rise to an immense business in importing cooly or slave labor, through which individuals and organizations make fortunes easily and quickly. The Chinese in America possess numerous well-organized associations, some of the mercantile and some of the criminal classes, which are interested in the importation of cooly labor, and it is the plans laid and executed by them that make the enforcement of an exclusion law a matter of the greatest difficulty. The interests of the organizations, of the merchants, and of all the influential classes lie in the entrance of large numbers of the servile class, for they bargain for their employment, collect the wages, pay the laborer what they choose, and keep the balance for profit.

EVEN THE BONES OF DEAD CHINAMEN SENT HOME.

The organizations, like the well-known Six Chinese Companies, have general oversight of the coolies, much after the manner of the owner of slaves, being interested in their health and physical well-being that their utility as wage-earners may not be lessened. And when the cooly dies in this country they see to it, as a part of the agreement entered into, that his bones are sent back to China to be placed beside those of his ancestors. Scarcely a steamer leaves a Pacific port for China that does not have on board hundreds of boxes containing the carefully-cleaned bones of deceased Chinamen. Through the laws and regulations of the Six Chinese Companies, and the terrorism of the highbinder societies, the Chinese in America are under a strict government, but one based on Asiatic and not American ideas. And the coolies, subject to a slavery which is real and not imaginary, are brought over here to compete with American labor, bringing with them standards of life and morals which can only tend to drag the American workman from the high level he has attained.

CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO CIVILIZATIONS.

Personal freedom, the home, education, Christian ideals, respect for law and order are found on one side, and on the other the traffic in human flesh, domestic life which renders a home impossible, a desire for only that knowledge which may be at once coined into dollars, a contempt for our religion as new, novel, and without substantial basis, and no idea of the meaning of law other than a regulation to be evaded by cunning or by bribery. The attack of the cooly laborer is not alone on wages, but on the very foundation of the American workman's prosperity and well-being. The contest is between two social systems utterly opposed to each other. Customs and ideas that are the growth of three or four thousand years, which have made the Chinese a people of the strongest vitality, of fewest wants, and least aspiration for improvement, will inevitably conquer, as they have always conquered, in a strife with a civilization of a high plane. A scale of wages like that given by Consul-General Jernigan at Shanghai—blacksmith, 13 cents a day; brass worker, 16 cents; barber, 3 cents; bootmaker, 10 cents; bricklayer, 10 cents; cabinetmaker, 11 cents; tailor, 10 cents; cotton-mill machinist, 11 to 22 cents, and cotton-factory hands, 18 cents—shows the margin which the cooly laborer has in a competition with American labor.

CHINA COULD OVERWHELM US.

With such a margin and such a heredity as he has, there can be no doubt as to his ability to overwhelm the laborer of any nation having modern civilization. Unrestricted immigration

would open this country to 400,000,000 or 450,000,000 people of the character described. With more extended knowledge of the opportunities offered here, is it to be imagined that thousands would not come to our shores where single individuals now come? Is there a belief that we could prevent them from attaining the commanding position occupied by them in the Philippines, in Singapore, and wherever they exist in large numbers? The Chinaman fully realizes all of his advantages, including that of numbers. A Chinese student during the Boxer troubles, in reply to my assertion that if the members of the legations were murdered we should punish China severely, said:

You can do nothing. Suppose you kill 50,000,000 Chinamen; we will have left more than five times the whole population of the United States.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator.

Mr. PERKINS. It is no interruption at all.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Something has been said as to the inability to secure American seamen for the trans-Pacific service. I should like to have the Senator, if he can, give us some information upon that subject.

#### CHINESE IN THE MERCANTILE MARINE.

Mr. PERKINS. The best answer I think I can make to the question is that there are a number of steamship companies running vessels out of San Francisco employing a large number of sailors, firemen, and coal passers which do not employ Chinese. I have myself for thirty years been connected with a steamship company employing from 1,500 to 3,000 men most of the time, and we never have employed, to my knowledge, a Chinaman during that period.

As to vessels running into the Tropics, all of the United States transports now engaged in the service, plying between San Francisco and the Orient, the Philippine Islands and Japan, have white coal passers, white stokers, and white firemen. Their whole crews are Caucausian.

The ships plying to Central America from San Francisco and to the coast of Central America and Mexico, and German ships running down the coast of Central America to South America, all employ white firemen and white coal passers and white deckhands (sailors). The ships of the Oceanic Steamship Company, one of which runs every two weeks to New Zealand and Australia, run to Honolulu, across the equator, and go down through the Tropics. They all employ white men. The steamers running from San Francisco to Samoa, to the Fiji Islands, also employ all white men. It is the same way with vessels of our Navy.

#### WHY THERE SHOULD BE NO CHINESE ON OUR MERCHANT VESSELS.

In this connection I will state that when there was under consideration the bill to promote American shipping interests I voted for the amendment proposed by the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. PATTERSON] prohibiting the employment of Chinese upon those ships. I did it for the reason that I supported the bill, believing it would build up and resuscitate and again give to us the carrying of our own trade under the Stars and Stripes as we formerly had it. I believe the correct way to do that is to encourage and make honorable and elevate the dignity of the life of a sailor, and it requires some courage to be a good sailor man. It requires

a good deal of courage to be a fireman or a coal passer, to go down into the hold of one of these ships and there toil for four, six, or eight hours during the twenty-four, or longer.

I have always had quite as much admiration for the stoker who went down into the hold of the *Merrimac* and went into that famous blockade at Santiago as I did for the man who stood upon the bridge, and it was on my motion that Congress kindly recognized their bravery by giving each one of them a medal.

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to interrogate the Senator from California.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to ask the Senator from California whether it is true or not that there is a sufficient supply of white sailors upon the Pacific slope and whether white sailors can stand the Chinese climate in pursuit of their occupation?

Mr. PERKINS. The same question has been asked by the senior Senator from Indiana, and I have been answering it in part.

PLENTY OF WHITE MEN TO MAN OUR SHIPS.

Mr. PENROSE. I beg pardon. I was not in the Chamber at the time.

Mr. PERKINS. I have been credibly informed by the Firemen's Union of San Francisco that there are plenty of men to fill those positions. The question is one of wages. I believe it is worth something to be an American citizen. It is worth a great deal. It is worth a great deal to have the right to fly the Stars and Stripes at the peak, and our ships plying out of San Francisco or New York to any foreign port have certain rights and privileges which foreign ships do not have. An American ship sailing from San Francisco may carry freight and passengers to Honolulu, to the Philippine Islands, and then continue on her voyage to Japan and China.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator says it is worth something to be an American citizen. Will the Senator kindly inform the Senate what proportion of the sailors whom he says are of Caucasian blood on the ships that sail from San Francisco are American citizens?

Mr. PERKINS. In the coasting trade it amounts to about 60 per cent.

Mr. GALLINGER. How about the foreign trade?

Mr. PERKINS. In the foreign trade it is less than 50 per cent—some forty-odd per cent.

Mr. GALLINGER. So that half of these men are not American citizens?

CHARACTER OF CAUCASIAN SAILORS.

Mr. PERKINS. They are all capable of becoming American citizens. Many of them come here who are not citizens. They have their families in San Francisco or at Oakland, across the bay. They have their little cottages, many of them building them perhaps on the installment plan, and when they come back after a voyage to Australia or to the Orient they are greeted by their children and their wives. There they see the schoolhouse that they pay their taxes to build, and there they see the little

church where their wives and children worship. Those people become good American citizens in time. If they are not American citizens their children surely are, and they have the pride and honor that attach to it.

I took a deep interest when I first came to Congress in ascertaining the percentage of foreigners in our Navy. I found there was some 65 per cent of foreigners in the Navy. I had several interviews with the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, and with their assistance we have established several naval training stations. We now have a number of vessels shipping landsmen, who go off on training voyages. The result is that we have reduced the percentage of foreigners in the Navy from 65 to 41 or 42 per cent. We have been making splendid progress in the last five or ten years, and I hope and expect to live to see the American flag flying on ships as I once saw it, when a sailor boy sailing out of your own native State. Mr. President [Mr. FRYE in the chair], which we all honor and love. Then the boy in the forecastle looked forward to the time when he would walk the deck and command the ship, and was just as sure of reaching it as daylight follows darkness, if competent.

THE AMERICAN SAILOR SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

So I believe in building up the American merchant marine. I believe the best way is to encourage the American sailor. I would make his an honorable vocation, as it is, and when it is only a question of dollars and cents, I would give the preference all the time to the American citizen, or the one who is capable of becoming an American citizen, sooner than I would to a Chinaman, who would work for a pittance and take that pittance to China. When we employ Americans their wages are left here in our own home, and what is better than all, then you have a man who is protected as an American citizen, and who has a pride in American citizenship, and if he is not an American citizen his children will be citizens after him.

I believe I shall vote for this clause in the pending bill. While there are not the same reasons for it perhaps that existed as to the ship-subsidy bill, yet I would rather err on the side of right than to go off on the side of wrong. Therefore I shall vote that Chinese shall not be employed. Of course if ship owners prefer Lascars and Javanese and Malays and Japs or people from the South Sea Islands and other islands instead of American citizens or those capable of becoming American citizens, they can hire them probably much cheaper.

NONE LIKE THE AMERICAN SAILOR.

Mr. PATTERSON. I may suggest in this connection that in a communication from the War Department it is declared that the Filipinos constitute the best sailors of all the Asiatic people.

Mr. PERKINS. I have been shipmates with them. I would rather have one Yankee than seventeen Malays.

Mr. SPOONER. They may have improved.

Mr. PERKINS. Probably, since they have come in under our protection. There is a chance for them to do it. The Japs make pretty good sailors.

Mr. GALLINGER. Just on this point, if the Senator will permit me, if he will examine the testimony of Governor Taft he will observe that Governor Taft says the Chinese as laborers are very much superior to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. I know nothing about their qualities as seamen.

Mr. PERKINS. I think there is no doubt about that. All that the Chinese laborers are good for is to work, and they do work and work faithfully. I believe in dignifying and elevating labor in this country. My friend from New Hampshire, as well as I, never had a house to live in, because our ancestors did not leave it to us, until we worked to earn it. I believe in giving everyone in this country an opportunity to work. I believe in dignifying and elevating labor, whether it be by muscle or brain. I want everyone to have that opportunity. I am intensely American, like my friend the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. Of course no utterance of mine would suggest that I am not equally a friend of the laboring man—

Mr. PERKINS. I know.

Mr. GALLINGER. Although we may differ as to the provisions and details of this bill, as I think we do.

Mr. PERKINS. My friend and I are in perfect accord. We belong to that party which struck down slavery, for one reason because it was lowering and pulling down labor. We believed we should honor and dignify and elevate labor in this country.

A few minutes more, and I will not trespass further. I should like to dwell upon the religious phase of this question for a few moments.

Mr. GALLINGER. Before the Senator reaches that point I should like to propound one inquiry.

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly. If I can not answer it I will do as the judges do sometimes—I will take it under advisement.

MR. GALLINGER ASKS A QUESTION.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is right. It will be a wise answer when the Senator gets around to it, if he does that, because he is a wise man.

I have listened with great interest to the Senator's speech. He is a faithful representative of his own people and an able representative of his State. He believes every word he says, and yet some of us in the far East, concerning whom it has been suggested in this debate that we are governed by impulse, benevolence, and that sort of thing, are considerably puzzled to know why this intense desire to make the laws relating to Chinese exclusion so much more stringent than they are now, when the Twelfth Census shows that in the Senator's own State the Chinese inhabitants have decreased about 40 per cent in the last ten years. It does not seem to us, looking at it over the distance that we have to look to discover the Pacific slope, as though there is any real imperative necessity for further exclusive laws when the Chinese population is decreasing in the country at a rapid rate and when it decreased in the Senator's own State 40 per cent during the last ten years. Perhaps the Senator can give me some light on that point.

Mr. PERKINS. I think perhaps I may answer it offhand by stating that many of the Chinese who land in San Francisco, as I stated in my preliminary remarks, find their way to Massachusetts and to some of the other New England States, and I notice that the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is now more earnest and more zealous in his advocacy of this bill than those of us from the Pacific coast. A few years since he said, "It will not do. It is contrary to the spirit of our institutions." And so I think perhaps they are feeling the baleful influence under which we have been suffering for so many years.

## HOPELESSNESS OF IMBUING CHINESE WITH CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

The "Boxer" uprising is an evidence of the hopelessness of the effort to Christianize the Chinese. That recent event was undoubtedly, as has been claimed, due in a great measure to the efforts of missionaries to imbue the Chinese with Christian ideas. The ultimate result was murder, violence, and a blow to Christian teaching in China which it will take long to recover from. But what has such teaching accomplished? Christianity has not been taught in China for the comparatively few years of which we have a record. Yet (and I think this item will surprise my honorable friend the historian from Massachusetts, because I have never heard him speak of it, and I have heard him make many scholarly dissertations) Christianity is known to have been introduced in China as far back as A. D. 781.

Mr. HOAR. Do I understand that the Senator from California disapproves of the attempt to Christianize the Chinese?

Mr. PERKINS. It has not been a success.

Mr. HOAR. That is unquestionable. Does the Senator disapprove of the attempt to introduce Christianity into China or not?

Mr. PERKINS. No, Mr. President; I refer to the matter simply to show the inertia of the Chinese, and the impossibility of making them desirable members of a Christian community.

\* \* \* \* \*

Christianity is known to have been introduced as far back as A. D. 781, the date of a monument in Northwestern China commemorating the event. It was taught one thousand three hundred years ago, and there is reason to believe very extensively, yet not a vestige of those teachings remains. It was taught by Roman Catholics in the seventeenth century and since that day, but with what results? Rev. Joseph Edkins, a missionary and thoroughly familiar with China and the Chinese, published in 1859 a book on the "Religious Condition of the Chinese." My reading is not very extensive, but I incidentally came across this book. He says:

The Protestant converts are still not many more than 1,000. They are the remaining fruits of sixteen years' labor by about 100 missionaries at the five treaty ports.

Mr. QUAY. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. QUAY. Looking at the population statistics as to the Protestant Christians in China I find that the number is something over 100,000.

Mr. PERKINS. There must have been many of them Boxers.

Mr. QUAY. No; they were fighting the Boxers.

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## THE FRUITS OF SIXTEEN YEARS' LABOR.

Mr. PERKINS. Dr. Joseph Edkins was a missionary and thoroughly familiar with China and the Chinese. I am giving you the historical view. I am not the historian, but it is Dr. Edkins, the author of the "Religious Conditions of the Chinese," published in 1859, who says:

The Protestant converts are still not many more than 1,000. They are the remaining fruits of sixteen years' labor by about a hundred missionaries at the five treaty ports.

Dr. Edkins believed in missions and had hope of the future, yet that was his estimate of the results of sixteen years' work. These figures would undoubtedly be cut down 99 per cent if he could have read the hearts of his so-called converts. He acknowl-

edges that the Chinese came to the schools for the purpose of picking up scientific and other knowledge that they could make use of, but evidently had faith that they also imbibed Christianity. And this in face of the fact, as he records, that Christianity compels them to give up the strongest of all their strong religious customs—the worship of ancestors. It is safe to say that the idea on which this worship is based is as ineradicable as are the physical characteristics of the race. In the face of that, to suppose that Chinese will accept Christianity and give up the most vital of their ethical ideas is to suppose the impossible.

The Chinese have been in this country for half a century, surrounded on all sides by Christian influences, attending Sabbath schools in shoals, and most earnestly attentive to the teachings of the good-looking young ladies having charge of the classes; but the most ardent pro-Chinese American can not say that Christianity has made much progress.

#### PROFESSING CHRISTIANITY FOR BUSINESS REASONS.

Rev. Dr. Condit, who represents the Presbyterian missions, states that out of the total Chinese population of the United States, estimated by those having to do with Chinese at 300,000, there are only 1,600 Christian Chinese of all denominations, and only 4,000 Christianized from the beginning of their immigration, which would represent that number of conversions among two or three millions of individuals. Remembering that of the number given above a very considerable proportion make pretense of being Christians for purely business reasons and that the sincerity of the rest may be questioned on the safe assumption that the Chinaman's hereditary religious convictions can not be discarded with the ease which sanguine Christians seem to think possible, it may be well to quote the remark of Dr. Edkins, who wrote:

It must be long before Christianity can become well understood by them. Missionary efforts must be greatly increased and the agency of the press must be well worked before they will be freed from many wild misconceptions. \* \* \* But we shall have to continue our efforts for many years yet without seeing our religion victorious unless God should interfere in unexpected providential occurrences to answer the prayer of His servants.

This is the language of an eminent divine, who consecrated his life in trying to elevate those people.

Such is the Chinaman whom unrestricted immigration would place side by side with the American laborer in nearly every branch of industry. His cheap labor might at first benefit individual employers or corporations, but to make it a part of our industrial system would be detrimental to the public interests, subversive of our civilization, and stop absolutely the wheels of progress. It is therefore our duty—I look upon it almost as a religious duty—to so legislate that the greatest good to the greatest number will result, and that the institutions of our country, of which we are so boastful and on which our safety is based, may be preserved unchanged for those who come after us.





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# THE CHURCH

—AND—

# CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

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A CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION :

“What ought to be the attitude of the Church and Christian People toward the efforts made to prevent the coming of Chinese to this country.”

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BY CHARLES S. CAPP.

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*SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.*

*1890.*





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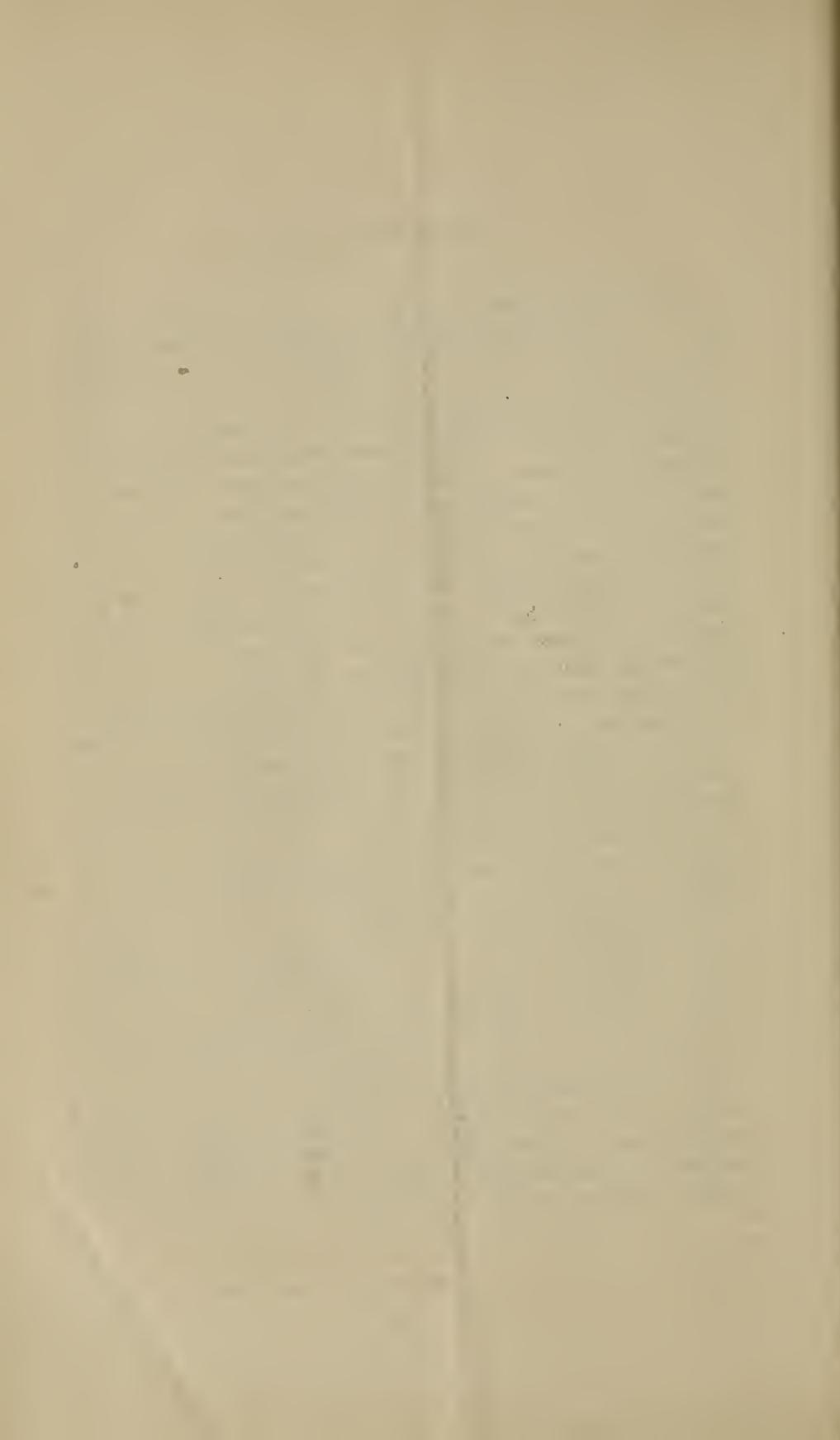
*1890.*



## INTRODUCTION.

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The writer desires to say that he is not in politics ; not in office ; not seeking any office ; not desiring to pander to prejudice to obtain votes ; not a newspaper man ; not a minister. His business has next to nothing to do with the Chinese, so that personally he has nothing to fear from competition with them. He does not care to indulge in unreasonable denunciation of the Chinese, but to make a candid and very moderate statement of a few of the most patent facts concerning them. He has not attempted to describe all their vices, but only such as are most prominent, and the result of their heathenism. He is not the enemy of the Chinese. But still, with all kindness toward them, he prefers his own countrymen, their religion, and their interests, to those of any strangers whatever. He does not sympathize with any persecution of the Chinese, but would prefer that they be kept out of our country, that they may not be persecuted here by men who resent the taking of the bread from the mouths of their children, and a foreign and heathen occupation of the paths of labor in which they are accustomed to earn their livelihood. He has, when occasion seemed to demand it, in the press of this State protested to the best of his ability against the attempted passage of laws apparently aiming only to annoy and oppress or extort money from the Chinese. He was at one time Clerk of one of our courts, and hence knows somewhat of Chinese testimony. He has in a small way, at different times, tried to give religious instruction to some of the Chinese here, as a branch of church work, and from a desire to be useful to them. He has many warm friends among those engaged in missionary work among the Chinese here and in China, and wishes them great success in their labors, and more hearty support from Christian people. In this pamphlet he has in all sincerity tried to fairly discuss the question stated : "What ought to be the attitude of the Church and Christian people toward the Chinese question of to-day?"



## The Church and the Chinese Question.

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“Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.”—Deut. iv, 2.

“*What ought to be the attitude of the Church and Christian people toward the efforts made to prevent the coming of Chinese to this country?*” This is one of the “live questions” of to-day.

### WHAT THE PACIFIC COAST WISHES.

Congress is asked by the people of the Pacific Coast States and Territories to make existing legislation more effective, and to exclude the Chinese altogether from our country. A disposition to disregard and deny their wishes in this respect appears to exist among Eastern people. The vast majority of our people here regard their presence among us as an unmitigated evil, an injury to our laboring population, and the Chinese themselves as undesirable in every point of view to have as residents among us. No man could obtain office by the votes of our people who did not proclaim his adherence to these ideas. It is easy to see that if they were not here, their places would be filled by other people. Any other people would be likely to be of our own race, and those who, if not so already, would in a few years become American citizens, nominally if not actually Christians, and influenced by ideas common to all Christian civilization, and at least not heathen idolaters. The Chinese cannot be made good Americans, and do not desire to be Americanized or Christianized.

It is not desirable that an unharmonious or debased or dangerous element should be added to our population. Every independent nation has the power of self-protection in such cases, and it is its right and its duty to use it. The United States of America have this right as an element of sovereignty, and no treaty can deprive us of it, or make it the duty of our statesmen not to use it for the defense and benefit of our citizens. The view of the question that ordinary patriotism would dictate seems to be obvious enough.

## HOW SHOULD CHRISTIANS VIEW IT.

Let us see, then, whether there is anything in the religion the Bible teaches and which we possess, that renders it necessary on this question for Christian men to take any other view than that which ordinary patriotism and regard for the welfare of our country would naturally dictate? Evidently there are those who think there is, and because the impression is not uncommon at the East, and even among some of the ministers in California, that clergymen in particular must so regard this matter, and must be ready to welcome the Chinaman to this country as "a man and a brother," just as other men and brothers are welcomed. Already several bodies of clergymen, representing as many denominations of the Christian church, or the Foreign and Home Missionary work of their churches, have apparently regarded it as their duty to protest against any legislation by Congress that will discriminate against the Chinaman and render effectual the existing laws intended to prevent others of his race coming among us.

Because I regard such ideas as eminently wrong, and not founded upon Bible teachings, and as unpatriotic, and such action as injurious to the best interests of the country and of our own people, and of the Christian Church, I desire to submit a few considerations to all to whose notice these lines may come.

## THE CHURCH AND THE WORKING CLASSES.

And first I desire to remark that it is not desirable to create or deepen the impression that unfortunately already exists too widely, that Protestant Christianity is something not intended for the laboring masses, but only for the more respectable and well-to-do classes. That somehow, our ministers have very little real sympathy for the poor among us, and scarcely desire them as additions to their congregations, because they are not as well educated and not able to dress as well or contribute as liberally as the other class, in pew-rents or otherwise, toward the support of the minister and other church expenses. That the kind of religion taught from our pulpits is either better adapted to the richer than the poorer classes, or not applicable to or available for the poorer and laboring classes at all.

We trust and think we know that such is not the case. Or if it sometimes looks as though it were so in some of the churches, we know the fault is not in the religion of the Bible, but in a

few, let us hope a very few, of the men who teach it. But there is quite enough reason already to cause those who do not know better to think in this way, without furnishing new grounds for such assertions by the adoption of resolutions, and declarations, and appeals to Congress against legislation intended to check or prohibit Chinese immigration, on the plea that as Christians they think Chinese should be as welcome here as any other foreigners; that Christians desire that the Chinese may be allowed to come here that they may be Christianized, or that if we exclude them, American missionaries may be excluded from China, and missionary operations there checked or prevented.

#### HOW WORKING PEOPLE SEE IT.

Our laboring people know that when capitalists bring Chinese here, or employ them, it is to compete with them in the various fields of labor, to use them as a means of reducing the wages of white laborers, and if the latter resist, then to occupy their places and throw them out of employment altogether. They have seen this constantly done by our railroad and steamship companies. The laboring classes rightly feel that men who act and vote and petition Congress thus, have little or no sympathy for them in their efforts to improve the condition of themselves and their families. If ministers of the Gospel are among those who do so, it will not be wonderful if the white laborers turn a deaf ear to their exhortations, avoid or abandon the churches, and, instead of attending their religious services, take the Lord's day for their labor society meetings, in which they try to do something for their own temporal benefit, and educate their children to be anarchists and infidels. The remark of a laboring man was quite to the point when he said that "if ministers' salaries were liable to be reduced by Chinese competition, as are the wages of working people, they would take a very different view of the matter."

They see that the capitalist is always very welcome in our churches, because, as they believe, of his ability to pay for the highest-priced pews, and head any subscription list with a liberal sum, and great consideration is therefore extended to him. But they do not always see the same welcome extended to themselves, or the same effort made to draw them in and make them feel at home there. Some of these know of James' exhortation on this point. When a conflict arises between Capital and Labor, they think they know that the sympathies of the pastor and his congregation are with the rich rather than the poor brother.

## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICAN MINISTERS.

It is unfortunate if such is ever the case. It is unfortunate that the laboring classes should ever have apparent reason for thinking that such is the case. It is important that nothing should be done by ministers as a class, or when acting together as representatives of the cause of religion, to deepen such feelings, and create a prejudice against the churches in the minds of any of our countrymen who depend upon the labor of their own hands for their support. For, after all, though it is our duty to send the Heralds of the Gospel to all nations and all parts of the world, and preach the Gospel to the heathen in their own homes, and also to instruct those who are among us, the field in which American ministers are to work, and for which they are responsible, is in America, among our own countrymen. It behooves them, therefore, to keep in full sympathy with our own people, among whom they desire to labor successfully, and let them see and know that they are so. If, through any mistaken "liberality" of opinion, or lack of patriotic preference for their own country and their own countrymen, they do not succeed in attracting and converting their own fellow-citizens, their labors will be a failure, and it will be poor consolation when the thousands of non-church-going Americans are enumerated, to say, "But our Chinese missions in San Francisco and elsewhere on the Pacific Coast are very prosperous."

The writer does not desire to say one word to check any missionary efforts among the Chinese in San Francisco, or elsewhere in America. He desires to see them liberally maintained, and earnestly desires to see them useful and successful. But, at the same time, he hopes to see them abandoned ere many years for lack of heathen material to operate upon, and the sphere of the laborers transferred to China, where they will be more useful and efficient.

## ULTRA LIBERALITY DANGEROUS.

It is well always to be suspicious of a doctrine or a course of action more "liberal" than that taught in the Bible. Moses was directed by God to teach that "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (and it is notable that there was not even an exception made if the man-slayer was insane), but nowadays we have very many who claim to be more just and merciful than God, and therefore favor the abolishment of all capital punishment. Yet the experiment, wherever tried,

shows that God is wiser than such men, and that His law is more merciful and just to the community than the sham liberality and sham mercifulness of these professed humanitarians. Many similar instances of such sham liberality in opposition to the ideas of the Bible could be adduced, but I propose to confine myself to a single one in the remarks that follow.

GOD'S VIEW OF HEATHENISM.

We read all through the Bible that God abhors idolatry and idolaters. The denunciations of both are constant all through the history of His people. God directed His people that they were to "utterly overthrow" the idolaters, "and break down their images," when they were fighting the Canaanites and taking possession of the land of promise. They were "to destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves; for thou shalt worship no other God; for the Lord whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God; lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land," etc.—Ex. xxxiv, 14. "Thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them, nor make marriages with them," etc. \* \* \* "But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars and break down their images (statues or pillars), and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire. The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire; thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it with thee, lest thou be snared therein; for it is an abomination to the Lord thy God. Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thy house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it; but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing."—Deut. vii, 2, 5, 25, 26. "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree; and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place." Deut. xii, 2. They were to destroy any city in which idolatry was practiced among them (Deut. xiii, 12), and their dearest friend or kindred who enticed them to worship idols was to be put to death without pity (vs. 6 to 11).

"LIBERALITY" DISAPPROVED.

These directions were repeated after the Jews were secure in

the possession of the promised land. The kings that obeyed these instructions, and removed every sign of idolatry from the land, were commended, while those who were good rulers otherwise, but were more "liberal" in their ideas, and tolerant of the idolaters among them, had the praise bestowed upon them qualified by the statement, "but the high places were not removed"—1 Kings, xv, 14—or, "nevertheless the high places were not taken away."—2 Chron. xx, 33.

In the IXth Chapter of Joshua we read the account of the very noteworthy case of certain heathen, the Gibeonites, who imposed upon Joshua and the Princes of Israel, and by false pretences and lying, beguiled them into making a league with them. Just as to-day our people are dissatisfied with our treaty with China, and desire its repeal or modification, we read that the instincts of the common people were right, and that "all the congregation murmured against the Princes." The Princes then pleaded that their faith was pledged by treaty to these people, so that they were bound to protect their lives, and they used the "cheap labor" plea to quiet them, making the Gibeonites "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for them and for the temple service. In other words, they were not to be entitled to the rights of citizens, and were slaves. It must be remarked, however, that there was no provisions made for their remaining heathens and practicing idolatry, or any exception in their favor in the decrees for the extirpation of idolatry and idolaters. But it does not appear that the people ever were well satisfied with this arrangement, for long years after we learn in II. Samuel xxi:1-3—that "Saul sought to slay them (the Gibeonites) in his zeal to the Children of Israel and Judah," *i. e.*, as a measure likely to be popular among his subjects. Yet a famine punished the nation for his cruelty and breach of faith, and seven of his sons were hung for their father's sin, or their participation in it. To-day our heathen neighbors, the Chinese, are by pretences just as false as those of the Gibeonites, *viz.*, of former residence, carrying with it the right to return, or that vegetable peddlers, laundrymen, and laborers are "merchants," or that they were born in this country, or by forged certificates supported by unlimited perjury, in which the new comers are carefully tutored before arrival,—seeking to gain admittance to our country by deceiving our princes and judges. And the people with good reason are murmuring at the willingness of

our officers to be deceived, and the facility with which they accomplish their object. It was also expected here that the Chinese would be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" only, but we find them competing with our own people and commencing to crowd them out of a variety of fields of labor, that previously were all their own.

STRICT OBEDIENCE COMMENDED.

Of Asa it is said—"And Asa did that which was good and right in the eyes of the Lord his God. For he took away the altars of the strange gods, and the high places, and brake down the images and cut down the groves. \* \* \* Also he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places and the images."—2 Chron. xiv, 2 to 5.

And 2 Chron. xv, 8, "And when Asa heard these words and the prophecy of Obed the prophet, he took courage and put away the abominable idols out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of the cities which he had taken," etc.

Of Jehoshaphat it is said, "And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the Lord; moreover he took away the high places and groves out of Judah."—2 Chron. xvii, 6.

In the time of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi, 1), we read, "Now when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim and Manasseh, until they had utterly destroyed them all."

Solomon prospered until he married the daughters of heathen kings about him, and being puffed up by the constant acknowledgment of his great wisdom, became "liberal" in his opinions, and permitted the practice of idolatry in his country by his heathen wives and their attendants and friends, and it may well be, by the Chinese of that day who came to trade with him.

HOW ABOUT TO-DAY?

In San Francisco our laboring people will tell you truly that they were prosperous and enjoyed fair wages until heathen contract-labor was introduced, heathen temples were built and filled with idols, and heathenism began to flourish unchecked throughout the Pacific Coast.

I do not at present feel it necessary for me to urge the adoption of the same course in America to-day toward the

Chinese who have been permitted to come among us, but if any one of my readers desires to make an argument based upon the teachings of the Bible, to show that it is less important to protect the religion and people of America from contact with heathenism than it was the Hebrews, from the time of Moses till the last of the prophets wrote, or to show that God and human nature have of late years changed, and hence that America is better off because idol temples and idol worship, and heathenism generally, exist among us, or that it is desirable that they shall be invited here and carefully fostered and protected among us, the writer will give it very earnest consideration.

BIBLE WARNINGS TRUE.

Everywhere throughout the Old Testament God's abhorrence of idolatry, and his care that his people should not be contaminated by association with idolaters, was made manifest. The reasons for this care were given, with the warnings against them, and these same reasons, aside from the danger of his people becoming themselves idolaters, hold good to-day. They were that the vices connected with idolatry were so numerous, so gross and so debasing, that they ruined the communities, and nearly all the individuals, who were thrown into association with idolaters. It is the same to-day wherever idolatry prevails, or is permitted to obtain a foothold in places where it did not previously exist. The experience of San Francisco and other portions of California show beyond question that idolatry itself is the same to-day as it was in past ages, and association with idolaters to-day produces the same disastrous effects as in the times of Moses and the later prophets, who warned God's people against them. If those who are disposed to be more liberal to-day upon this subject than God was then, will only investigate the facts as they exist in the Chinese settlements in San Francisco, or in New York or Philadelphia, or any other of the Eastern cities where this people are at all numerous, they will soon satisfy themselves not only that there is nothing to be desired in such an immigration, but abundant reason for excluding it on the ground of self-protection from the peculiar vices as well as diseases it everywhere introduces, and the injury it inflicts upon our own people, and the discontent and distress it creates among us.

UNDESIRABLE AS NEIGHBORS—GENERAL FILTHINESS.

Wherever they form a settlement they live in utter disregard

of the health regulations common to all civilized communities, but unknown among themselves, as well as those for security against fire. Their settlement soon becomes a storage place for every kind of indescribable filth and nastiness. Their occupation of any sort of building for this reason soon renders it unfit for occupation afterwards by civilized people. Their presence in a neighborhood renders it undesirable, and too disreputable for residence or occupation by Americans, and depreciates the value of adjoining property. Only the vilest or most degraded or the very poorest of the white population, whom extreme poverty compels to do so, are able to live in their neighborhood. The testimony of the thousands of tourists who have visited San Francisco, and in charge of a guide or policeman have explored the dens and alleys and filthy purlieus of the Chinese quarters of San Francisco, will confirm this description in every particular, and say that the reality is too bad for literal description. The amount of passive resistance to all efforts for a reform in such matters which the Chinese are capable of, is something which must be seen and observed to be at all understood. In San Francisco we have had elections turn on this question, and officers elected who were pledged to clean out this Augean stable. They started in bravely, again and again, and tried to do so. All Chinatown was declared a nuisance, which must be removed or cleaned thoroughly, and put in good sanitary condition. But there it is, just as our Eastern tourist friends have found it for the past thirty years, and such it will be as long as the Chinese remain among us.

#### DISEASES THEY INTRODUCE.

It is matter of notoriety that leprosy follows these people, or develops wherever they go, and that consequently those with whom they associate are liable to the infection. The history and present condition of the Sandwich Islands are an awful example of this danger. The constant existence of leprosy among the Chinese in San Francisco, its concealment among them in all cases until longer concealment is impossible, its occasional development among whites who have been exposed to the infection, so that every year or two a band of lepers have to be sent back to China from San Francisco at the public expense, show the reality of the peril attendant upon their residence among us.

It is matter of notoriety that several epidemics of small-pox

in San Francisco, which spread everywhere upon the coast, originated from cases brought by steamers from China, where the disease is spread by means of inoculation, and no efficient means taken for its extirpation, or to confine or prevent its ravages.

#### VICES THEY INTRODUCE.

The opium habit is introduced and spread by them wherever the Chinese settle. Their "opium joints," or opium smoking rooms, are established and opened to all who will pay the small price demanded for the gratification of the habit. It is far more fatal and debasing than alcoholic drunkenness, and more speedy and degrading in its effects, and almost impossible to cure. Gambling of all kinds, but particularly by means of lotteries, is carried on, and introduced among young and old, with more or less secrecy, wherever the Chinese congregate. Every vice that existed among us before the Chinese became numerous, with their presence becomes deepened and intensified. Where there are few or no Chinese women, young white girls are frequently enticed into their laundries and opium joints, degraded and ruined. Recent instances of this crime in Eastern cities are probably fresh in the minds of many of my readers, and will readily be recalled.

#### POLYGAMY AND PROSTITUTION.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of women among these people, polygamy (which we regard with horror, and are so anxious to suppress among the Mormons,) is practiced here by the Chinese. Among the classes who are able, the purchase of one or more concubines, at prices ranging from \$500 to \$3,000 per head, in the slave markets which exist among us, is not at all uncommon. These women labor at sewing, etc., in competition with the white women who would otherwise have the work they perform, and of course are able always to undersell them, and thus deepen their poverty by reducing the pay they obtain for similar work, or throwing them out of employment altogether. The ranks of these women are constantly recruited by new arrivals of women slaves from China, where, testimony in our courts shows, they are either kidnapped or openly purchased, and sold here as second or third wives or concubines, or under contracts for so many years' service as prostitutes. Contracts of this kind, legal enough in China, have been produced in our courts and duly authenticated. The history of every

Christian mission house in San Francisco abounds with instances of women rescued from such infamous oppression, for their doors are open to all such who know enough to seek shelter there. The records of our State courts abound with decrees restoring these poor creatures to the protection of the mission houses to which they had fled, and defeating the efforts of their oppressors to regain possession of them by means of false charges of crime, or that they were unwillingly restrained of their liberty by their Christian protectors.

#### WHY NOT REMEDIED?

Of course, it is asked, "Why, if these are facts, do not the authorities prosecute the offenders, and put a stop to such practices?" Some of the answers are: *First*—That their strange language, known and understood, perhaps, by not over a dozen Americans in all San Francisco, is a shield behind which many criminal things can be done, and no means exist of detecting and exposing them. *Second*—That no nation on earth is so ready to corrupt everything connected with the administration of justice as the Chinese, and thus prevent and defeat prosecutions. The records of our courts establish the existence of every kind of fraud, embracing constant perjury of the most systematic kind, the false interpretation of testimony, the falsification of records, the bribery of officers, and the constant intimidation and frequent murder of witnesses who testify adversely to the interests of one or the other party, and the regular maintenance and shelter and protection of assassins known as "highbinders," for that and for other equally nefarious purposes, by all of the so-called "Chinese companies," to one or other of which all the Chinese among us belong. *Third*—That the Chinese do not regard these things that I have mentioned in the light of evils. They are accustomed to them, and many more and grosser forms of the same in their own country, and consequently regard them here as matters of course, and deprecate our occasional interference with them. *Fourth*—The great majority never learn our language, herd only among themselves, and acquire few or none of our ideas of right and wrong, and have no such idea as that of reforming any of the things I have referred to, either here or in their own land. *Fifth*—There is no heathen fraud so vile that practicing American attorneys cannot be readily found who, for money, will plan and arrange it so that it may be carried out effectually.

## CULPABILITY OF ATTORNEYS.

There is no crime against liberty so great that they will not advise how our laws and the process of our courts may be availed of to cause its commission, and, if necessary, by the officers of the courts and in the sacred name of Justice. There is no amount of perjured testimony so gross that they will not be ready to offer it in the courts. And when the falsity of this evidence is demonstrated, they will coolly proceed in precisely the same manner with the next case, as no punishment ever seems to follow the detection of this crime where Chinese are concerned. It may in all fairness be stated, that the principal business of the officers who have to deal with these Chinese cases is to listen to perjured testimony, and, if it is not contradicted, to pretend to believe it. And for this, under the present circumstances, there is no available remedy so long as by any means the Chinese are permitted to come among us, and in doing so, make business for such lawyers. Neither is there public spirit enough among our lawyers to create the desire to stop this terrible flood of perjury, this awful travesty of justice, or to declare the systematic preparation and offering of perjured testimony even a disreputable means of livelihood, or properly regulate and reform the practice of an honorable profession.

## ABUSE OF OUR COURTS.

For instance, what would be thought in the East of a proceeding such as the following, which recently actually occurred in one of our interior counties, and was not the first instance of the kind by any means. A Chinaman in business is living quietly with his wife. Suddenly an American officer from another county appears, holding a warrant directing his arrest on the charge of some crime he is alleged to have committed. He is hurried into a wagon, or the railroad train, and carried off by the officer, whose warrant is all the explanation needed, to be taken before the Judge at the county-seat of another county. Shortly after, another officer appears, and the wife is arrested and carried off in a similar manner, but in a different direction to some other town. When the charge against the husband comes up for hearing, the witnesses fail to appear against him, or the charge is found to be false and without foundation, and he is discharged. When he returns his wife has disappeared, and he has no knowledge of where she is to be found. When with difficulty he discovers where she is, she may have been sold to

some other man as wife or concubine, or abused and restrained of her liberty under threat of imprisonment upon a criminal charge, or held until the husband is compelled to ransom her from the highbinders who were instrumental in carrying her off. The charge against her in the courts is dismissed, or disposed of otherwise, as most convenient. The officers are protected by the process of the court. The process was issued upon a showing of probable cause, by sworn testimony, in accordance with our laws; but the perjurors have disappeared. What redress is there for the injured man? If he seeks it actively, he is liable to be assassinated. He is the victim of his own countrymen, and this being a peculiarly Chinese transaction, the public interest in it ends with the perusal of the lively newspaper item it furnishes.

#### CHINESE PERJURY IN OUR COURTS.

The utter disregard of truth, and the entire failure of any form of oath or affirmation, or heathen or Christian ceremony to reach their consciences and bind them to tell the truth when upon the witness stand, is a very serious objection to their presence among us. There is perjury enough committed in our courts by other races, without our importing this new element of unreliability in the administration of justice. Six years' experience as Clerk in the courts of this city enables the writer to know whereof he writes in this respect, aside from the notorious reputation of this and some other heathen nations. When disgusted with the cutting off of the heads of chickens, and the burning of Joss papers, in the courts in a Christian country, I asked an old friend, who had spent twenty-five years of his life as a missionary in China, "How then can the truth be elicited with certainty from the Chinese when they appear as witnesses in our courts?" he replied: "They have experimented with this matter for a thousand years in their own country, and settled it that there is but one way to do so, and that is to beat and torture them. This the witness expects, and the judge threatens or orders as a matter of course wherever the slightest doubt exists. It is only the certainty of immediate bodily punishment if detected in falsehood, or its actual severity beyond the power of endurance, that is relied upon there to elicit the truth. And this the experience of ages has taught them is the only way to reach the conscience of heathen Chinamen. They laugh at our folly in expecting to get at the truth otherwise. In China, skill-

ful lying is a gentlemanly accomplishment." Of course, this style of eliciting the truth is not desirable in the courts of our country at the present time, and it is better to avoid the necessity for its introduction.

Now, notwithstanding much I have here stated is notorious, and all else susceptible of proof, and each separate matter has been proved indisputably again and again, and much more might be stated, but is scarcely necessary, what are the objections when any effort is made by means of legislation to check the immigration of Chinese, and aiming at the exclusion of others and return of those now among us to their own country?

#### WHAT SOME MINISTERS THINK.

Many Christian ministers appear to have a theory that somehow God has changed since the Old and New Testament were written. Although He says, "I am the Lord, I change not," they have a theory that now it affords Him pleasure to see idol temples going up in lands at least nominally Christian, and a heathen population clustering so thickly, with all their attendant abominations, about Christian churches, that His worshippers have to abandon them and seek new places in which to worship Him in decency and quiet. From this cause, in San Francisco, among those that were once the homes of leading and prosperous congregations, the First Baptist Church was sold to Chinese, and is filled with heathenism. The First Presbyterian Church had to be made into a Chinese mission chapel. The Presbyterian Chinese Mission was sold, and is now filled with heathenism. The First Unitarian Church is now occupied by negroes. The First Congregational Church is a museum. The Roman Catholic Bishop had to seek new quarters for his Cathedral in a more respectable neighborhood. These ministers and others appear to believe that the Lord can view with complacency the introduction of heathenism, with all its attendant peculiar vices and degradation, into the midst of at least nominally Christian communities, among His churches and Sabbath-schools. That He can witness and not be angered by the destruction that is spreading among young people here by the introduction of the awful opium habit, and other heathen vices and diseases.

#### CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION HERE.

They appear to believe that because a few of the Chinese who come here attend Sunday-schools—in the majority of cases merely for the purpose of learning the English language gratuitously—

and may thus, in doing this, learn something of the Christian religion, and a very, very small percentage of them thus become converted to Christianity, God is pleased to have them come here in thousands, causing all the injury to which I have referred, that these few may learn English, and the still smaller number be made Christians here, instead of by means of missionary effort in their own country. I do not believe that He so regards it. But I do believe that for every one Chinaman who becomes a Christian in America, ten Americans are ruined, body and soul, by contact with the Chinese who remain heathens among us; that Satan rejoices greatly as this introduction of heathenism goes on, and smiles when Christian philanthropists urge Congress not to interfere with his arrangements.

#### DISADVANTAGES OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING HERE.

By many the Chinaman is regarded as "a man and a brother," an object of interest possessed of many curious habits, (without going below the surface to note their tendencies or effects,) concerning which it is interesting to think or to talk. It is unfortunate, they think, that he is a heathen, and therefore it is well to invite him here and strive to Christianize him here. But any one who will carefully read the late report of Miss Cable, the lady colporteur of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in San Francisco, cannot fail to see that the disadvantages under which missionary effort here is carried on, are too many and too great to make it desirable to bring the Chinese here that we may seek to Christianize them here. Every dollar spent here in this way would probably accomplish five times as much good if sent to and used in China. If China is ever Christianized, as I hope it will be, it will be by native pastors, educated in their own country, in their own language, and not in English. Whatever knowledge now exists in English or any other language which it is important for the Chinaman to know, to help him become an intelligent Christian, must be translated for him into his own language; and this is rapidly being done.

I do not overlook or deny the duty of Christians to contribute of their money and their time to try to Christianize the Chinese who are among us. I have done a little in this direction, and was lately, until prevented by circumstances, engaged to a limited extent in this work, from a desire to be useful in this way. I have many dear friends among those engaged in this work, and I sympathize sincerely with all who

are so employed, and wish them more real success than I expect to see attend their labors. I also hope that among those Chinamen thus instructed, and, as we trust, Christianized in America, there may be comparatively many earnest souls who will return to China and preach the everlasting gospel to their countrymen successfully, or set them examples of Christian living.

MUCH RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION USELESS.

And I desire to say here that nine-tenths of the Christian instruction given to these Chinese in English, by those who are teaching them the English language, is of little or no value whatever, because nine-tenths of what the teacher says in English to the pupil, is by him either not understood at all, or else misunderstood; or it is not attended to at all, because all the while the teacher talks of that Bible lesson, the Chinaman is mentally studying over some word or phrase in the lesson he thinks will be of more practical and immediate use to him in business than anything the teacher is talking about. In saying this I know what I am speaking about from personal experience. I am not disposed, as many do, to doubt the fact that a Chinaman can be as soundly converted as any American, or that there are in the aggregate, as the result of forty years' Christian labor and example among the Chinese in California, quite a number of real Christians among them. But the number of such converts is not by any means sufficient to enable any one justly to say this fact even tends to outweigh the evils the presence of their people among us creates.

SHAM LIBERALITY.

It does not pay to be more liberal than God. It is not safe to lay down any doctrine more liberal than those He taught His people of old. Human nature and heathenism are the same now as three thousand years ago. It was desirable to get rid of heathenism among our European ancestors. It is not desirable nor wise to permit or encourage its introduction among their descendants of to-day. I do not say this for fear that some of us may become idolaters. And yet the thing is not more impossible now than in past ages. Indeed, among some of the Boston ultra philanthropists a great admiration for Buddha has lately been developed, and images of Buddha may yet become fashionable, or necessary to aid them in their moments of introspection and self-contemplation, and efforts toward the "blissful state of nirvana."

## EVILS OF CHEAP LABOR.

Then there are others who consider "cheap labor" as so desirable that they are willing to welcome heathenism or anything else that will furnish it, regardless of the injury its introduction may cause to our own people, whose prosperity hitherto has been largely due to the fact that labor was not as cheap here as in other lands. The experience of capitalists in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, who, because the laborers that were available demanded more than similar laborers received in Europe, introduced by contract hordes of Italians, Hungarians, and other ignorant peoples, and thus created so much trouble that legislation to check such contracts had to be adopted, might teach others that mere cheapness is not sufficient to counterbalance the evils and disadvantages that always attend it. The Spaniards justified the enslavement of the native American races on the ground that thereby they would be Christianized. We see the result. The enslavement and importation of Africans into the Americas, and all the atrocities we know are necessary to render slave-stealing profitable in Africa, were supposed by many to be justified by the Christianization of these savage Africans that was to follow, but more especially by the cheapness of the labor wrung from them under the lash. But the loss of half a million of American lives and thousands of millions of treasure, and our immense war debt, and all the sufferings and sorrows and heartburnings which the passing of a quarter of a century has not yet sufficed to remove, show that while God permitted, he did not approve or allow such crimes to go unpunished.

## SELLING THEIR COUNTRYMEN.

And the same must be the case now concerning this importation of Chinese, not only to the United States, but into whatever other countries the rich speculators and man-stealers, by permission of the so-called paternal government of China, can sell their poorer brethren. God may permit these awful sins, but surely he cannot approve them. In Cuba and Peru the slavery existing under these contracts is undisguised and undenied, and it is charged that the same is the case in the British settlements in Borneo. In the United States it is milder, because public opinion will not permit the lash to enforce labor contracts, but is usually, during the term of the contract, a servitude enforced by the knife or pistol of the highbinder assassin, or the

threat of the slavery of the victim's father, mother or children in China, who would be sold for the payment of his debt.

A MODIFICATION OF SLAVERY.

The truth is that Chinese labor is a mere modification of slavery. All the arguments made use of in past years in favor of African slavery, and that some churches then adopted and endorsed, and which some churches still obstinately adhere to, are available in favor of Chinese labor. But the majority of Americans now do not believe in such arguments. The blind cupidity of employers is all that renders it desirable to them. This is the basis of all arguments in its favor. None of the prosperity of California is due to Chinese labor. The industries that are said to depend upon it are always sickly, and in some cases in danger of being undermined by it, or of falling into Chinese hands altogether. California's natural advantages of soil and climate have made it prosperous in spite of this great drawback and disturbing element, by which other States have as yet hardly begun to be affected. Here it has kept back or driven away much desirable American and other white immigration that would otherwise have come or remained with us, but would not work with or compete with the Chinese, just as in the South the whites who were willing enough to earn their living by labor declined to compete with the negroes, and foreign immigration avoided and still avoids the States where negroes are numerous. The men who wrote the Declaration of Independence never dreamed of such a thing as inviting heathen Asiatics to come and reside among us, and become American citizens, while they still carefully preserved their heathenism, their attachment to their own country and its institutions, its manners, dress and modes of living, and, despising our own, always intended to return. This country was not intended to be the dumping ground of all the dangerous and undesirable elements of both Europe and Asia. We are neither patriotic, wise, nor Christian, if we permit it to be either, and do not do whatever is necessary to protect ourselves from such a fate. It is at the present time particularly necessary that those who represent the Church as ministers and delegates in conventions and assemblies shall not appear to teach or believe that the dictates of an enlightened Christianity are contrary to those of an enlightened patriotism, and that charity does not begin at home.

## REASONS FOR EXCLUDING CHINESE.

Because I think it right, and a matter of Christian duty, I am very strongly in favor of discriminating against heathenism and in favor of Christianity, and particularly against the Chinaman, for the reasons that I have given, which show that he is a particularly undesirable, injurious and dangerous addition to our population. He is a heathen, influenced only by heathen ideas. He has no attachment to the principles of our government, and cannot be Americanized as can immigrants of the same race as ourselves. He has no desire to become such as we are. He has no interest in the welfare of our country; usually no desire to remain here permanently; no family ties here. He makes a raid upon this country, to secure what he can, and return to Asia to be an Asiatic again.

"And he has the right to spend what he has earned by labor how and where he will," retorts one of these liberal-minded men. True. But as between one who does not love this country, and does not intend or desire to settle permanently here, and one who does, common prudence and patriotism dictate that we shall discriminate against the one and in favor of the other.

## THEY IMPOVERISH WHITE LABORERS.

Wherever the Chinese settle among Americans, they immediately commence to occupy the fields of labor that would otherwise be occupied by our women, and our young men and young women, and all those who are not strong and robust, reducing the chances for employment so much needed by those classes, and which it is so important that they shall obtain, and then reducing the wages so that Americans or other white citizens, who have to accept the wages with which the Chinese are content, are unable to live as all desire that Americans should, or to bring up their children in a Christian and civilized manner.

The fact that the great majority of the Chinese who come here are not burdened with the support of either a wife or a family in this country, enables them to carry on this industrial conflict upon terms of advantage over their American or white competitors, of whatever nationality among us, which the latter have no means of meeting. It is not either desirable that American workmen should refrain from marrying in order to compete successfully with Chinese labor, or that the Chinese

should bring their wives and families here, and thus locate permanently, and increase and multiply more rapidly, without any hope of their dying out or returning to their own country.

A DANGEROUS ELEMENT.

The presence of 120,000 heathen aliens among us, nearly all able-bodied adult males, is a serious element of weakness in case of foreign war. If the war was with China, they would only need officers and arms to make them an army greater than the entire present army of the United States, and useful pioneers for whatever other troops might be sent from the unnumbered hordes that once nearly overran Europe. With modern arms and war vessels, China may be tempted to attack America some day, in which case it might go hard with the Pacific States. Hence it is not advisable to increase their number among us.

THEIR EMPLOYMENT UNNECESSARY.

And in reply to the statement which is so often made, but which, however, is not true, that "without the aid of the Chinese our Central and Union Pacific, and our California railroads would never have been built, and it would be impossible to carry on among us fruit-raising, etc.," I would say: California would have been better off to-day if the Central and Union Pacific Railroads were yet unbuilt, if thereby the Chinese had been kept out of the country. And I would be willing to see every industry now only sustained by means of Chinese labor cease at once until white labor can be found and brought here to carry it on. The country would be richer and more prosperous every way to have it so. Neither would their exclusion lead to any great loss or discomfort. If the Chinese were excluded, all the effort necessary to bring white labor here would be made at once, and the demand would be supplied. Where there is a will there is a way in matters of this kind.

But the white labor is here already, and would be available if the Chinese were out of the way, and ceased to render it possible for employers to grind the rate of wages and the accommodations furnished to white laborers down to a Chinese basis, upon which white labor cannot or will not, neither is it desirable that it should live.

The railroads would have been built without Chinese labor, and just as soon as they were, too, if Congress had only been wise enough and patriotic enough to have enacted that only

laborers capable of becoming American citizens should be employed. Congress could have protected such laborers from being drafted into the army. The companies, or construction syndicates, would then have sent to Europe and got all the white labor they wanted, and their white laborers would now be prosperous and loyal American citizens, settled along the lines of the roads, on lands bought with their labor, and producing freight constantly carried over the roads they built. Or, as was then proposed, the "contrabands," or newly freed negroes of the South, could have been employed, though the result would not have been quite so satisfactory. White labor would have cost the contractors more than Chinese labor did. The construction syndicates would not have made as large dividends as they did. There might be a few less California millionaires, and perhaps a United States Senator or two less from among them. But the State of California would be more prosperous than at present, its laboring population more contented, and a hundred industries in full operation with white labor that have never been started through a fear of competition with Chinese labor, or the idea that without it they could not succeed.

#### NO PROFIT IN THE LONG RUN.

While our railroad construction syndicates and other large employers of labor did and may profit in the dollars and cents they need not pay out for labor by employing the Chinaman, and steamship and railroad companies add to their profits by transporting him here, and then back and forward through the country, yet in the end the country loses more money by his presence than these selfish corporations gain. Their profits would be far larger and more permanent if their laborers were whites, whose consumption of all the articles civilized merchants deal in and transportation companies carry is larger, five to one, than that of Asiatics. The whites invest their savings and become permanent residents, and are capable of becoming useful American citizens, while the Chinaman's earnings are sent abroad, and he departs with them to spend them in China. The other foreigners among us also send large amounts of their earnings back to the "old countries." But it is not desirable that they should do so; neither is America any better off because they do so, and we profit far more by those who invest their earnings wholly among us.

## OPPOSITION TO DISCRIMINATION.

But the readiest arguments (?) on the tongues of those who oppose legislation restricting or preventing Chinese immigration, and particularly recent attempts to make existing legislation effective, are that "they are opposed to discriminating against the Chinaman," and hence they are not ready to discriminate in favor of the Christian religion as against idolatry, but on this question of legislation lean a little in favor of idolatry. "Other undesirable elements are not excluded. Why exclude him more than any other?" "The laws are not enforced against the same vices existing among Americans, or those of other nationalities among us. Why, then, enforce them specially against the Chinese?" And in stating these so-called arguments thus I quote the words of a Christian minister of this city, in a conversation had with him on this topic, only a few days ago!

My answer to him was, "This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone." Because officers sworn to do their duty—often, perhaps, because improperly influenced to do so—fail to discharge one part of their duty, it is not a proper thing for a Christian man to say, Let them also fail to do other parts of their duty likewise. If the criminal who is not caught escapes, it is no reason why the one who is caught should not be prosecuted and punished. It is the duty of Congress to pass laws to exclude all dangerous and undesirable additions by immigration to our population. I am glad some progress has been made, and the necessity for further legislation in this direction is now more and more generally admitted. Efficient legislation is also needed providing for sending out of the country again all such obnoxious, injurious, disloyal and dangerous persons, of whatever nationality, as may have escaped the guards at the gates by which they enter our country, whenever they are found to be of such a character. I am in favor of enforcing all laws against vice and crime uniformly and without respect of persons.

## WHY FORCE THEIR PRESENCE UPON US.

The Chinese are undesirable as neighbors or associates outside of their own country, wherever they are located. No Christian American would desire to associate with them, nor have his son or daughter associate with them habitually, except for missionary purposes. If they did so, he would consider them far gone on the road to ruin, for such would be the fact.

Our missionaries in China are compelled to send their children home that they may not be degraded by the constant contact with heathenism, and that they may be educated where all the restraints of Christianity are about them. This being the case, why should residents of Eastern States and cities not yet much affected by this evil, desire to thwart the people of the Pacific States and Territories in their efforts to have Congress interfere to protect them and their children against the manifold evils the contact with this growing mass of heathenism ever entails. And why should Christian ministers volunteer to be spokesmen in this behalf? Surely there is no obligation in Christianity that makes it necessary that this section of our country should be forever the victim of such a scourge. The same troubles in the Spanish East Indian settlements led to massacres of the Chinese at different times, because the government failed to interfere effectively, on one occasion fifty thousand perishing at the hands of the desperate people whom they were crowding out from all domestic labor fields.

#### OUR MISSIONARIES MIGHT BE BANISHED.

If it is said, "If we exclude them from America, they may exclude Americans from China," I say without hesitation, still exclude them. The native church in China is able to sustain itself if thus compelled to do so. It would do so if every foreign missionary was excluded to-morrow. If all the American missionaries were excluded from China, but we were thus enabled to get rid of the presence of Chinese among us here, I would then cheerfully contribute toward the support of Christian missionaries of any other nationality, who would not be excluded, but especially of native pastors and colporteurs.

#### AMERICAN TRADERS MIGHT BE EXCLUDED.

If all other Americans in China would therefore be excluded, upon those terms I would still say, send back the Chinese. If we would only look at the figures, the number of Americans in trade in China is trifling, and the trade not at all important, since it is constantly a losing business so far as our country is concerned, though a few importers manage to make a profit out of it, and our steamship companies profit from their human freights. But American dollars will always buy anything the Chinaman has to sell, and that we need. And if to-morrow we excluded all the Chinese in America, the Chinese would neither cease to trade with us, nor exclude the Americans among them,

from all of whom they realize a constant profit and substantial benefits.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion I submit that the statements made and the reasons given above, are sufficient to convince any candid person that the following propositions are true, viz :

*First.* That there is no real benefit to be derived by the country from the presence of the Chinese amongst us.

*Second.* That we do not need them for any purpose.

*Third.* That the damage to our own race caused by their presence, far outweighs all the pecuniary gain to the individuals and corporations who trade with or employ them, or the Steamship and Railroad companies that transport them.

<sup>5</sup> *Fourth.* That the wishes and preference of individuals or companies for employees who may be dealt with as half slaves, rather than as Americans as free as their employers, are not worthy of regard in the mind of the general public, and opposed to the welfare and general policy of the nation.

*Fifth.* It is not advisable to foster the creation of an upper and a lower grade of society, with a difference of race to keep them apart, and prevent the elevation of the individual from one to the other, and heathenism to make the barrier more effectual, and render active sympathy and fellowship between them impossible.

*Sixth.* The present condition of affairs in our southern states, owing to the contact of the white and the black races, is bad enough to teach the lesson that it is not desirable to permit, much less create or encourage, the existence of a similar condition of affairs on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, with heathenism as an added element of discord and degradation.

*Seventh.* That the Chinese are an element that is not capable of assimilation with the mass of American citizenship, great as is the capacity of our country in this respect in consequence of our public system of education.

*Eighth.* If the contrary was admitted, it is not desirable in any point of view to add them to the bulk of population that make up the American nation.

*Ninth.* That the Christianization of the heathen can best be carried on in their own countries by going with the Bible to them, rather than inviting them here, *en masse*, for instruction.

*Tenth.* That there is nothing in the precedents or precepts of the Christian religion that makes it our duty to degrade and injure our own people and country, by subjecting them to contact with heathenism at home, on the plea of efforts to deliver those abroad from its evils.

*Eleventh.* That there is heathenism and vice enough, civilized and uncivilized, already in this country to engage all the available energies of Christian people to overcome it, without inviting a new influx of Asiatic vices and heathenism to add to this task, in addition to the admitted duty of maintaining foreign missions.

*Twelfth.* That in love of our country and care for its general welfare, and all its institutions, Christian people should, if possible, go beyond those who are not Christian, and be in the front ranks of those who oppose every effort of the powers of darkness, to weaken, degrade, and injure our nation or our labouring classes, whose well being is the basis of all real prosperity.

Consequently I trust that I have said sufficient to show that it is the duty of every Christian man or woman in the United States to be earnest and active in favoring and urging the adoption of whatever additional legislation may be necessary, and the faithful enforcement of all existing laws calculated to check the further coming of Chinese to our shores, and the removal of those already here. And I commend the facts stated, and the reasons and conclusions given above, to the careful and candid consideration, and to the consciences of the Christian people of the United States, as well as to all my countrymen generally.

CHARLES S. CAPP.

*San Francisco, May, 1890.*

## APPENDIX.

### REPORT OF MISS EMMA R. CABLE,

*Missionary among the Chinese of San Francisco. April, 1889.*

The seventeenth annual meeting of the Occidental Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church commenced at San Jose on Wednesday last, and was continued at Santa Clara on the two following days. Interesting reports were read from the various outlying branches and from the General Secretary, as to the progress of the society's work in Japan, China, Servia and other countries. Much gratification was felt at the substantial and practical results that had flowed during the past year from the Chinese Home on Clay street, in San Francisco, under the able, brave, and zealous management of Miss Maggie Culbertson.

Miss Emma R. Cable's report of house to house visitation in Chinatown, was, as usual received with marked attention and consideration. That lady's labors in Chinatown are so well known and appreciated, that her praise is heard in all the churches. The paper read by her at Santa Clara has so direct a bearing on one of the most important phases of the Chinese question that we print it in full.

### AN INTERESTING PAPER BY MISS CABLE.

"When I mention the fact that during the past year I have visited and taught in 132 families, you will readily see how impossible it is for one person to devote to each all the time that could be usefully employed. The names and addresses of these families are regularly enrolled in my visiting book, together with such information as we can gather in regard to their home life, surroundings and peculiar circumstances, as may seem interesting and calculated to be of future use. In these families we frequently find three and four wives under the same roof, the practice of polygamy being the rule with such of the Chinese as think they can afford it. In most instances the women are bought in this country in what may aptly be called the open slave market, for there is no disguise about it at all. The price of each human chattel varies from \$1,000 to \$3,000. Their first cost is, however, pretty much their last. They are thereafter kept busy sewing garments for the stores, and are expected to work from twelve to sixteen hours every day, Sundays included. And this is as true of the merchant's wives as of the poorer class. Very few of them are allowed to go on the streets, and the vast majority never leave their rooms from the time they arrive till they either die or are sent back to China. Among the families on my visiting list are thirty-six little-footed wives. I am happy to say that I have now but eighteen little-footed girls, as I have been able in some cases to persuade parents against the cruel practice of bandaging their children's feet. Beside, they are realizing that it ever afterward interferes with their enjoying life after the approved American fashion. They say: "I likee big feet, all same as Sin Shang (teacher), so I can go walk on street some day." I cannot help thinking that the terrible torture inflicted by this barbarous practice brings the whole matter within the purview of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and to it I beg to commend the good work of stamping it out. Our entire number of girls now being visited and taught is 156, ranging in years from three to twelve. Of this number we have taught fifty-eight regularly and systematically, and the superior grasp of mind and capacity for development displayed by many are at once to us a pleasure and an incentive to effort on their behalf. In these families we have taught seven women

the number being necessarily small, because, unless they are willing and anxious to co-operate, it is impossible to devote time to them. In many instances, however, the mothers acquire more or less of knowledge through the personal interest they take in their children's studies. One poor heathen mother, who died last week of lingering consumption, was led through her affection for her little four-year-old girl to learn to sing "Jesus Loves Me," and they were accustomed to sing it together very sweetly.

The number of slave girls bought for domestic services are gradually lessening from year to year, and we observe a much more humane treatment of them, which is very largely induced, as we have reason to know, by the consciousness they have that we keep a vigilant eye upon them, and that the Home is always invitingly open to receive victims of cruel or bad treatment. We have on several occasions been the means of seeing that that the wronged ones were provided for in that way.

We daily encounter little girls in the alleys and dens of vice, and could we induce the proper authorities to exercise their power we would not be compelled, as now, to see the class of little girls we taught in Bartlett alley, already in possession of owners of dens of shame at the tender ages of thirteen and fourteen. This is the most hideous phase of life with which we are forced face to face in Chinatown. It is repelling to the last degree, and I would fain abstain from more particular allusion to it if I could. But to attempt to describe our daily work among the Chinese without alluding to it would be like an endeavour to write the play of *Hamlet* with the principal character left out. The sale of these children for immoral purposes is not only contrary to the laws of God; it is a violation of the law of the land and a burning disgrace to our American civilization, and it *can*, it *ought*, and it *must* be put an end to. Is it not monstrous that the educational work I yearly did in Bartlett alley should be made to add to the accomplishments, and, therefore, to the money value, of these human adornments of dens of sin? When I see the fruits of my labor thus stolen from me, do you wonder that I feel like crying aloud in anguish of soul? I ask, nay, more, I implore the assistance of all good people in demanding the enforcement of the laws of the land to the end that this direst form of human slavery the mind can imagine may be abolished, and a terrible blight upon the fair fame of our beautiful State be blotted out.

Make no mistake about the facts being as I have stated them. I have at this moment in my possession an actual bill of sale under which one of these human chattels was for four years held in Chinatown to a form of bondage compared with which the negro-served plantations of the South were so many havens of rest and innocence. I wish I could to-day present that girl, with her bill of sale in her hand, as object lessons on your platform. Nine months ago Miss Carrie McFarland and I were enabled to rescue her from the den in which she had so long been confined, and for some four months it was necessary to keep her in hiding in my home, as a large reward was offered for her capture, and the highbinders were threatening to murder anybody found harboring her. For a time these wretches had the audacity to place my home under surveillance, and in this free country to actually threaten it with peril. Her whereabouts was finally traced through a white hackman accepting \$100 as a bribe to tell whether he had driven her. The highbinders thereupon met and resolved in the most formal way possible to exact the death penalty from any Chinese found extending her aid and comfort, and this resolution was avowed throughout the quarter. It was not until the poor girl had stripped herself of every article of jewelry and personal adornment she had received as presents, and the friends she had made subscribed and paid for her ransom, that she was relieved of the terrible pressure that had been made to surround her. The American Constitution, with its guaranty of the peaceable enjoyment of the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, does not operate in Chinatown.

But you ask: 'Where was the law and its officers all this time?' Good, innocent folks, the Chinaman's dollar is mightier than the American Constitution with San Francisco's policemen and politicians! It is one of the most lamentable facts in connection with this girl's experience, that a moiety of her earnings was paid each week to an influential policeman. In point of fact, the protector provided her by law was in part her enslaver and owner. She, of whom all this is true, is yet only eighteen years of age. She is attractive in appearance, of superior mind, marked individuality and of refined manners, which it is difficult to tell how she acquired. Born in China, her father was a German sea captain, and her mother a Chinese woman. The death of the father left the family in straightened circumstances, and a slave-buyer from San Francisco appearing, the mother was induced to part with the child, then only fourteen years old, upon the representation that a Chinese merchant, whose photograph was exhibited, would marry her upon arrival here. She was instead sold for \$2,500, and placed in the den from which I had the good fortune to rescue her. Let me impress upon you, however, that she is the representative of a class in this Christian land still in enforced and sinful slavery, whose condition American civilization cannot afford to tolerate."

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#### A CURIOUS CONTEST.

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*From the Evening Bulletin of San Francisco, April 30, 1889.*

The missionary societies of the East seem to have ran full tilt against California and the Pacific States on the subject of the Chinese. These societies are animated by the laudable desire to convert into Christianity the four hundred million pagans, more or less, who are found in the Chinese Empire. They are at the same time afraid that if the Chinese are excluded from this country their labors in China may be rendered more difficult. Apparently they consider that the moral and material welfare of four States of this Union is of no weight against their gigantic enterprise. No evidence, however, has been furnished that they understand the Chinese Question, or that any of them take the pains even to study it. They simply propose to wave aside four States of this Union in what they consider to be the interest of the spread of Christianity, without anything to warrant the opinion that their work in China would in the slightest degree be retarded by the preservation of our Christian civilization from contamination here. They give us up with as much readiness as Artemus Ward did his wife's relatives to the war. It would be very difficult to establish that Christianity demands any such sacrifice as that proposed, even if such sacrifice would aid in any degree the missionaries in their labours. We say nothing of the lack of brotherly feeling which it manifests. If the missionary societies had converted all, or any considerable portion of the Chinese of this country, and had made of them civilized and Christian people, there might be some justification for the course which they have thought proper to pursue. But with the joss house and opium joints multiplying around us, they do not appear to have much of a case.





(U.S.L.)

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CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. MORROW  
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JUNE 28, 1886.

W A S H I N G T O N .  
1886.



## Chinese Immigration.

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S P E E C H

OF

HON. W. W. MORROW.

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The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9478) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, and for other purposes—

The Clerk read as follows:

To meet such expenses as may be necessary to be incurred in carrying out the provisions of the act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese, approved May 6, 1882, including the printing of certificates therein required, \$5,500.

Mr. MORROW. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which I send to the desk.

The amendment was read, as follows:

In lines 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> and 813, strike out "five thousand five hundred dollars" and insert "ten thousand dollars: *Provided*, that the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be prepared and furnished to collectors of customs at ports where the same may be required, suitable books of registration and books of preliminary and return certificates, in such form as shall enable the said collectors to conveniently set forth and certify accurately, distinctly, and fully all the particulars necessary to identify the Chinese persons to whom such certificates shall be issued."

Mr. MORROW. Mr. Chairman, if I can have the attention of the committee for a short time I will explain as briefly as possible the condition of affairs on the Pacific coast calling for the most effective restrictive legislation that can be devised by Congress for the purpose of excluding Chinese immigration from the country and the necessity for a larger appropriation than is provided for in this bill to carry such legislation into effect. In doing this I shall not weary the committee with any matters not strictly pertinent to the subject-matter under consideration.

This bill proposes to appropriate the sum of \$5,500 "to meet such expenses as may be necessary to be incurred in carrying out the provisions of the act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese, approved May 6, 1882, including the printing of certificates therein required."

This sum is wholly insufficient for the purpose intended. In 1884 an appropriation of \$5,000 was made to meet the expenses of carrying out the provisions of the restriction act for the year 1885. The insufficiency of this appropriation compelled the Treasury Department to exercise such rigid economy in providing the machinery for executing the provisions of the act that the law has been evaded in a most shameful manner. The return certificates furnished to departing Chinamen have been printed so meanly and with such meager detail that instead of preventing further immigration of Chinese laborers as the law intended the certificates have been used in aid of illegal immigration. I hold one of these certificates in my hand. An inspection of the document will show its useless character. The Chinese Government under the law is authorized to issue certificates to Chinese merchants coming to this country. Under this authority that government prepared and furnished to departing immigrants a certificate containing a description of the person to whom it was issued with the most elaborate detail. Compared with that document our own certificate designed for our protection is utterly worthless.

For the year 1886 no appropriation was made for the purpose of executing the law, and the result has been that the Chinese have been pouring into California at a rate far in excess of the average annual immigration prior to the passage of the restriction act.

In response to the numerous complaints that have been made to the Secretary of the Treasury concerning the inefficient method of executing the provisions of the present law, that officer has replied that there were no funds at his disposal for carrying the law into effective execution. Within the last month the United States district judge at San Francisco is reported as having declared that for the want of funds certain provisions of the law were practically nugatory. I refer to an article in the San Francisco Morning Call of June 13, 1886, concerning the attempt of two Chinamen to land in San Francisco contrary to law. The cases were brought before the United States district judge, who

found that they were not entitled to come into the country, but what to do with them was the serious question. The report says:

Judge Hoffman admitted to the reporter that the situation is embarrassing. Said he:

"Although the law which provided for the remanding of these Chinese to the place from whence they came intimates that it shall be done at the expense of the United States, there is no fund appropriated for that purpose. Consequently the only way in which the marshal can obey the order of the court, where a company refuses to receive a remanded Chinaman without the payment of his fare, is for that official to buy the ticket at his own cost and then take chances of being reimbursed by the Government. That is a matter that rests solely with the marshal, though, and I can not compel him to take such a chance. Neither can I order the two Chinamen to be confined in the county jail indefinitely. My idea is, however, that the steamer which brought them here can be compelled to take them away at its own expense, as in law the men can not be regarded as having landed from that vessel. Consequently I will again remand them to China, and when the City of Peking next arrives in port I shall instruct the marshal to place the two men on board of her."

This condition of affairs certainly ought not to continue. The Government should be provided with the means to execute its own laws in a matter of this grave importance. This weakness, hesitation, and uncertainty, if continued, will drive the people of the Pacific coast to desperation, and the consequences may be deplorable.

The Secretary of the Treasury has asked for an appropriation of \$10,000 for this particular service, and I know that the sum is little enough under any circumstances. There is a bill amending the restriction act on the House Calendar and another which has passed the Senate and has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The people of the Pacific coast have been anxiously hoping that one of these bills should become a law. Whether they are to be disappointed or not I can not say, but I can say that there is no more important matter before Congress than the effective restriction or prohibition of Chinese immigration. The effort so far has been a failure, and it remains for you to say whether you will allow conditions to grow worse before you take active measures to settle this great question.

Permit me to call your attention to a few plain facts from which you can draw your own conclusions.

#### DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT LAW.

The defects in the present law relate mainly to the privilege accorded to certain classes of Chinamen by the treaty to go and come at pleasure. This privilege is preserved by the statute to the classes named in the treaty, but with safeguards so insufficient that Chinese

laborers are continually obtaining admission into the country under the pretense of belonging to one or the other of the privileged classes.

The provision of the treaty referred to is as follows:

#### ARTICLE II.

Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

##### RETURN-CERTIFICATES NOT REQUIRED OF CHINAMEN WHO WERE HERE ON THE 17TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1880, AND DEPARTED PRIOR TO MAY 6, 1882.

It will be observed that Chinamen in the United States at the date of the treaty, to wit, on the 17th day of November, 1880, are allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord. This privilege has been greatly abused in affording an opportunity to Chinese laborers to come into the country who have never been here before, and the opportunity to evade the law has occurred in this way. No method was provided for the identification of those that were here at the date of the treaty, and it was not until May 6, 1882, that Congress passed an act providing for the return-certificate of identification for those departing from the country. In the mean time several thousands had gone away without such certificates, and upon their return they claimed the right to come into the United States on parol testimony showing that they were here on the 17th day of November, 1880, and had departed prior to the 6th day of May, 1882. The question was brought before the courts of the United States and the claim was sustained.

The result of this decision was that not only those came back who were here at the time named, but Chinamen who had never been in the country were instructed by their better-informed countrymen how to assert and support this claim. Maps of San Francisco and other places on the Pacific coast were furnished to new-comers on board ship, so that they might acquire a certain familiarity with the character and location of places, and thus be able to answer questions in a way to indicate a former residence in the country. There is no doubt that many succeeded in evading the law in this manner. As soon, however, as the officers of the Government began a critical examination of the persons making this claim the Chinamen devised a still better scheme in aid of their immigration. The return certificate provided by the present law, al-

though intended to identify the person to whom it is issued, is really a much more useful document, since it may be used to identify any one of many thousands with equal certainty.

There is a remarkable similarity in the size, complexion, color of eyes and hair, and general appearance of all Chinamen coming to this country. It therefore happens that the present certificate of identification issued to a departing Chinaman will do equally as good service as a certificate of admission into the country for a thousand other Chinamen. And since an American return certificate is worth at least \$100 in China, the patient, submissive, and frugal follower of Confucius takes one with him on his departure from this country and sells it to a countryman in China at the market price. He then returns, if he so desires, and is admitted on the claim of having resided here at the date of the treaty. Under the circumstances he comes back to us, as can be well understood, with a "smile that is child like and bland." By the sale of his certificate he has paid the expense of his journey to the graves of his ancestors, or the greater part of it, and there are two Chinamen in this country where there was only one before.

The amendment I propose is intended to cure some of the defects of the return certificate, in giving authority to the Secretary of the Treasury to prescribe such forms as will secure a better identification of the persons to whom the certificates are issued. The amendment will also provide the necessary means for carrying into effect either the present law or any amendatory act that may be passed by the present Congress.

#### THE CLAIM OF BEING A MERCHANT.

The privilege accorded to merchants has also been abused by persons not belonging to that class. As negative proof was of course out of the question as to the occupation of immigrants many were able to pass without detection. At one time nearly all the vessels arriving at San Francisco from Hong-Kong came laden with Chinamen supplied with certificates from the Chinese custom-house at Canton showing that the holders of the certificates were merchants. These passports were very elaborate and carefully prepared documents, with the photograph of the alleged merchant securely attached. But two vessels a month, loaded to the guards with Chinese merchants, was too absurd a proceeding to continue long. The certificates were refused by the officers at

San Francisco, and the Chinamen that were landed were compelled to produce other evidence of their right to come into the United States under the law.

THE TRANSIT PRIVILEGE.

Another way of avoiding the terms of the restriction act has been the claim of being in transit across the territory of the United States. I do not believe that the privilege of transit was intended to be granted to Chinese laborers either by the act of May 6, 1882, or the amendatory act of July 5, 1884, but under a decision of the Attorney-General of the United States and the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury the privilege has been conceded under such terms as to permit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States without sufficient safeguards being provided against their remaining in the country.

That this plea has been a serviceable one is shown by the report of Special Agent Spaulding to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated November 2, 1885, and the records of the custom-house at San Francisco, from which it appears that the arrival of Chinese passengers at San Francisco, claiming to be in transit, from August 5, 1882, to December 31, 1885, was as follows:

From August 5, 1882, to December 31, 1882.....	76
During the year 1883.....	3,498
During the year 1884.....	3,792
During the year 1885.....	5,159
 Total.....	 12,525

What proportion of this large number of arrivals at San Francisco were in actual transit and how many took their departure from the United States are not known. It is certain, however, that the plea of being in transit has not been made in good faith in many cases, and the increase in numbers of those arriving at San Francisco, from 76 in the five months of 1882 to 5,159 in the year 1885, is significant, and shows that there must be some connection between this traffic and the continued increase of the Chinese population in the United States. It is but fair to say that the present Attorney-General holds that the transit privilege is not authorized by law, but he holds that the correction of the evil requires the action of Congress.

Other defects in the law might be pointed out, but enough has been shown to demonstrate the necessity for further effective legislation to

restrict this immigration. The determination on the Pacific coast to have this question settled has never been so emphatic as it is now. There has never been such intense feeling upon this subject as there is at present among all classes throughout that entire region. And if you would know the cause you have only to examine the situation of affairs and consider what you would do under like circumstances.

The situation is far more serious in California to-day than at any other time in the history of the State, and calls for immediate and effective action.

The white adult male population of San Francisco does not much exceed 50,000. The number of votes cast at the last Presidential election was 47,535. Now, compare this with the Chinese population, estimated to be from 45,000 to 50,000, or as large a number as in all the seven colonies of Australasia, with their 3,000,000 of population. This Chinese population in San Francisco is nearly all male and over 21 years of age.

The special committee of the board of supervisors, recently appointed to investigate the Chinese quarter of that city, could only find 1,385 females and 722 children in the city, classified as follows:

Women .....	57	} Living as families.
Children .....	59	
Women.....	761	} Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations, and no family classification, so far as could be ascertained.
Children.....	576	
Prostitutes .....	567	} Professional prostitutes and children living together.
Children.....	87	

This statement discloses a condition of things that can not be discussed here. In a Chinese population of nearly if not quite 50,000 only fifty-seven families can be found. You must draw your own conclusions as to the condition of the Chinese population in San Francisco and its effect upon the white male population, which it equals if it does not exceed. In no other civilized community on the face of the globe has it reached such proportions and conditions. If Congress knew the whole truth of this Chinese question and its probable consequences upon American civilization the Burlingame treaty would not be in existence an hour.

The time allowed me will not permit the present discussion of other important facts connected with this immigration. If the bill amending the restriction act is brought forward before adjournment I propose, if I have the opportunity, to submit further facts of a character

that should attract the attention of Congress and the country to the magnitude of this growing evil.

For the present I must be content with simply presenting the urgent demand of the people of the Pacific coast that Congress shall take some action toward effectually prohibiting Chinese immigration.

**A POPULAR REPRESENTATIVE CONVENTION IN CALIFORNIA DEMANDS AN IMMEDIATE AND ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.**

On the 10th of March last two conventions assembled at the capital of the State of California for the purpose of taking into consideration the situation of affairs as involved in the Chinese question. One of the conventions had met at San José a short time before and had adjourned to meet at Sacramento, inviting a full representation from all parts of the State. The other convention was composed of delegates appointed by the boards of supervisors of the several counties. Both of these conventions were non-partisan, and represented every business, trade, and profession in the State. It was composed of adherents of both of the leading political parties, and I have no doubt included men who could be said to voice the moral sentiment of the State. The two conventions united under one organization, adopted a number of resolutions and a memorial to Congress. The latter was recently introduced in the Senate by Senator MITCHELL, of Oregon, and ordered printed (Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 107). The resolutions are as follows, so far as they relate to action on the part of Congress:

**THE PLATFORM.**

The report of the committee on resolutions was presented by Hon. Horace Davis:

Whereas the people of the State of California are with a unanimity of sentiment unparalleled in history opposed to the presence of the Chinese in their midst, and are likewise opposed to the further immigration of that race into the United States; and

Whereas this opposition is not of sudden growth, but is the result of more than thirty years' experience; and

Whereas the history of all countries where the Chinese have been permitted to reside among other races is a precise counterpart of our own; and

Whereas the evils arising from the presence of the Chinese are:

First. Their coming is an invasion, not an immigration.

Second. They have no families or homes among us.

Third. Their domestic relations and modes of living are such as forever preclude their assimilation with our people.

Fourth. By education and customs they are antagonistic to a republican form of government.

Fifth. They maintain in our midst secret tribunals in defiance of our laws.

Sixth. The presence of so many adults owing allegiance to a foreign government is dangerous.

Seventh. They deter laboring men from coming to California.

Eighth. The contract system by which they come to this country is virtually a system of peonage, hostile to American institutions.

Ninth. Their presence deters the growth of a reliable labor element among our boys and girls.

Tenth. After subsisting on the lowest possible portion of their earnings they remit the residue, amounting to many millions annually, to China, while the substitution of American labor would retain this vast sum of money in our country.

For these reasons they are a constant and growing source of irritation and danger to our State, and it is necessary that their immigration be immediately stopped, and every lawful measure adopted to remove those among us.

*Resolved*, That we demand that the Government of the United States take immediate steps to prohibit absolutely this Chinese invasion.

PETITION FROM THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

I might stop here perhaps and ask whether anything more is required on our part to present this question fully to Congress and obtain for it that careful and earnest attention its importance deserves, but I have still a further duty to perform in this matter, which, to me, is one of most impressive significance. The people of California, having determined with remarkable unanimity that the evils of Chinese immigration are past further endurance, have adopted every apparently effective form of expression and declaration to make that determination known to Congress. It has remained, however, for the Knights of Labor to resort to the sacred right of petition in a way that is so formidable and expressive as to indicate the exceeding earnestness of their appeal. They have, with infinite labor, obtained the signatures of fifty thousand citizens of the State to a petition to Congress asking that such action be taken by appropriate legislation or by a change in the present treaty with China as may be necessary to forever prohibit the further immigration of Chinese into the United States.

This petition is the work of an organized army of laborers, loyal to the institutions of the country, devoted to its best interests, and hopeful of the future. They have adopted the method pointed out by the Constitution to ask the Government to protect the laboring classes of the United States, and particularly those of the Pacific coast, against a ruinous and vicious competition. They ask that Congress shall preserve the principles of this free Government for the benefit of those who must support and defend it. They ask that an impending foreign invasion shall be prevented and peace and prosperity assured to all the

people. The petition is short and to the point, and I will read it with a few of the names attached thereto.

PETITION.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, citizens of the State of California, request your honorable bodies to take such action, either by appropriate legislation or by a change in the present treaty with China, as may be necessary to forever prohibit the further immigration of Chinese to the United States:

(Signed by:) George Stoneman, governor; Thos. L. Thompson, secretary of state; John P. Dunn, State controller; D. J. Oullahan, State treasurer; H. I. Willey, State surveyor; W. T. Welcker, superintendent public instruction; James J. Ayers, superintendent State printing; Talbot H. Wallis, State librarian; E. B. Pond, supervisor, San Francisco; W. B. Farwell, supervisor, San Francisco; J. E. Abbott, supervisor, San Francisco; John E. Kunkler, supervisor, San Francisco; D. L. Farnsworth, supervisor, San Francisco; Jas. Williamson, supervisor, San Francisco; Jas. Gillean, supervisor, San Francisco; Robert Roy, supervisor, San Francisco; A. Heyer, supervisor, San Francisco; Washington Bartlett, mayor of San Francisco; E. W. Playter, mayor of Oakland; John Q. Brown, mayor of Sacramento; E. F. Spence, mayor of Los Angeles; C. T. Settle, mayor of San José; Peter Hopkins, sheriff, San Francisco; Fleet F. Strother, auditor, San Francisco; L. Wadham, tax collector, San Francisco; J. A. Bauer, treasurer, San Francisco; Jas. J. Flynn, county clerk, San Francisco; D. M. Cashin, recorder, San Francisco; J. L. Meares, M. D., health officer; M. C. Conroy, license collector, San Francisco; Ira G. Hoitt, president board education; L. F. Holtz, assessor, San Francisco; J. V. Coffey, superior judge, San Francisco; R. F. Morrison, chief justice supreme court; John Hunt, superior judge, San Francisco; F. W. Lawler, superior judge, San Francisco; T. H. Rearden, superior judge, San Francisco; J. F. Sullivan, superior judge, San Francisco; D. J. Toohy, superior judge, San Francisco; James G. Maguire, superior judge, San Francisco; William Irwin, ex-governor; F. F. Low, ex-governor; Samuel W. Backus, postmaster, San Francisco; P. Crowley, chief of police, San Francisco; M. C. Blake, ex-mayor, San Francisco; Stuart Taylor, naval officer; D. McMillan, supervisor, San Francisco; Samuel Valleau, supervisor, San Francisco; Justin Gates, supervisor, San Francisco; H. C. Kinne, 120 Fourth street, San Francisco; John Payne, 919 Harrison street, San Francisco; W. W. Stone, 31 Liberty street, San Francisco; Calvin Ewing, 547 Howard street, San Francisco; D. McSweeney, 1220 Polk street, San Francisco; Ed. J. Rose, 239 Kearny street, San Francisco; T. H. Corcoran, 1610 Hyde street, San Francisco; J. Livingston, 729 O'Farrell street, San Francisco, and about 50,000 others.

It is evident that no considerable part of the petition can be read, nor can it be printed in the RECORD. It is nearly a half-mile long, and contains the names of the officers of the State, county, and municipal governments of California. It is signed, of course, by the Knights of Labor and wage-workers generally.

Mr. BELMONT. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him whether he does not know that, under the treaty it is not possible to entirely prohibit Chinese immigration?

Mr. MORROW. I am presenting here the petition of people asking

that something shall be done about this matter; and the gentleman from New York, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, should come before this House with some measure or some proposition which would assure the Pacific coast that there is in this Congress a desire and a sentiment to do something for the working people of this country.

Mr. BELMONT. The Committee on Foreign Affairs has had under consideration the bill introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. MORROW], and therefore I thought it proper to ask him the question whether he did not himself know that, under the treaty, which he has no doubt read and considered, it is absolutely impossible to prohibit entirely the immigration of Chinese labor?

Mr. MCKINLEY. What has the committee done?

Mr. MORROW. I understand the construction placed upon the treaty by the gentleman from New York, and by the committee which he represents, but the question is, What has the committee done? I am here simply asking that the committee shall proceed to act, and proceed at once. If they bring in here the bill I have introduced, I have no doubt about the effect of such a law. It would restrict Chinese immigration and afford the relief that the people of the Pacific coast demand.

Mr. BELMONT. The gentleman has not yet answered my question.

Mr. FELTON. I wish to ask the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs if it is not a fact that his committee have had before them a bill drawn under the treaty, in accordance with the usages of nations, and which obviates entirely the objections suggested in the remarks he has just made; and, if so, I ask him why they have not reported that bill?

Mr. BELMONT. I will answer the gentleman by saying that the bill is already reported to the House.

Mr. FELTON. What bill?

Mr. BELMONT. The bill introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. MORROW].

Mr. FELTON. I am not talking about that. I am talking about another bill, drawn under the provisions of the treaty and in accordance with the views which the gentleman from New York is expressing here.

Mr. BELMONT. Mr. Chairman, there is a unanimous report by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and it only remains for the House to

carry out its agreement with that committee to give it a day for the consideration of the bill.

Mr. MORROW. We on this side of the House will aid you in bringing that bill before the House with a great deal of pleasure.

Mr. BELMONT. But will the gentleman from California now answer my question, whether he does not know that under the treaty it is absolutely impossible to entirely prohibit this immigration?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir; the Congress of the United States is sovereign; and if it is the desire of Congress to prohibit this immigration it may do so by legislating in any way, even though it be in contravention of the treaty. There can be no doubt about that.

Mr. WILLIS. It has been decided by the Attorney-General over and over again that Congress can repeal a treaty.

Mr. MORROW. Certainly; Congress can repeal a treaty if it so desires.

Mr. BELMONT. Still the gentleman must remember the language of the treaty of 1880 with China. The words of Article I are as follows:

The United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it.

Mr. MORROW. I must decline to yield, Mr. Chairman. My time is limited. The gentleman has been very courteous heretofore, and I acknowledge it, but I can not yield further at this time.

In many towns, like Pomona for example, every adult male citizen has appended his signature to the petition I now present to this House. It represents the forces from every trade, profession, and calling enlisted in the cause of redeeming the industrial interests of the country from Chinese usurpation and monopoly. This powerful and urgent appeal should arrest the attention of Congress and secure an earnest consideration of the subject it presents. I shall ask that the petition be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The great political question involved in Chinese immigration relates to the declared policy of this Government to protect the interests of labor and guard well the industries of this country. A protective tariff, or a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection, is but a sham and a delusion, if pauper labor can come here and compete with our own laboring classes. Chinese cheap labor is the very worst form of free

trade, for it involves no exchange of commodities. The Chinaman lives on Chinese products at the least expense possible wherever he goes, and gives nothing back to the communities of other nationalities on which he fattens. Money paid to him for his labor or his products ceases to be a circulating medium. He breaks the circuit of exchange and the money disappears. He is a parasite on the body-politic. He attaches himself to the vigorous growth of a more generous civilization and absorbs its strength and vitality. Like the daughters of the horse-leech he cries, "give, give," and if you are not prepared to shake him off you should abandon the false pretense of being in favor of protecting American labor. We can not afford to trifle with this grave question any longer. This immigration must absolutely cease. American labor demands and will have protection, and either this or some future Congress must provide the machinery for executing the will of the people on this subject.

The people of the Pacific coast, loyal and devoted to the institutions of this country, have waited long and patiently for a settlement of this great question. The two leading parties have declared in national conventions that we shall not wait in vain. As we stand here the danger increases. Between the dignity of American labor and the vice of Asiatic slavery there is an irrepressible conflict as decided and dangerous as the antagonism between the free labor and slave labor of this once distracted country, and which could only be broken over the "perilous ridges of battle." It rests with us to say whether this conflict shall go on, and, gradually extending its lines, involve the whole country in a common ruin, or whether we will arrest its progress and bar the door to further intrusion.

Every consideration having in view the public welfare demands that we should act promptly and effectively in resisting this unwelcome and dangerous invasion. It is a disturbing element we can not control, and, unrestrained, will produce consequences we can not foresee. Let us, therefore, with such wisdom as we possess, seek to draw around the privileges and benefits of the Republic the protection of the law, and thus demonstrate to the world the value and dignity of American citizenship. [Applause.]





# CHINESE QUESTION

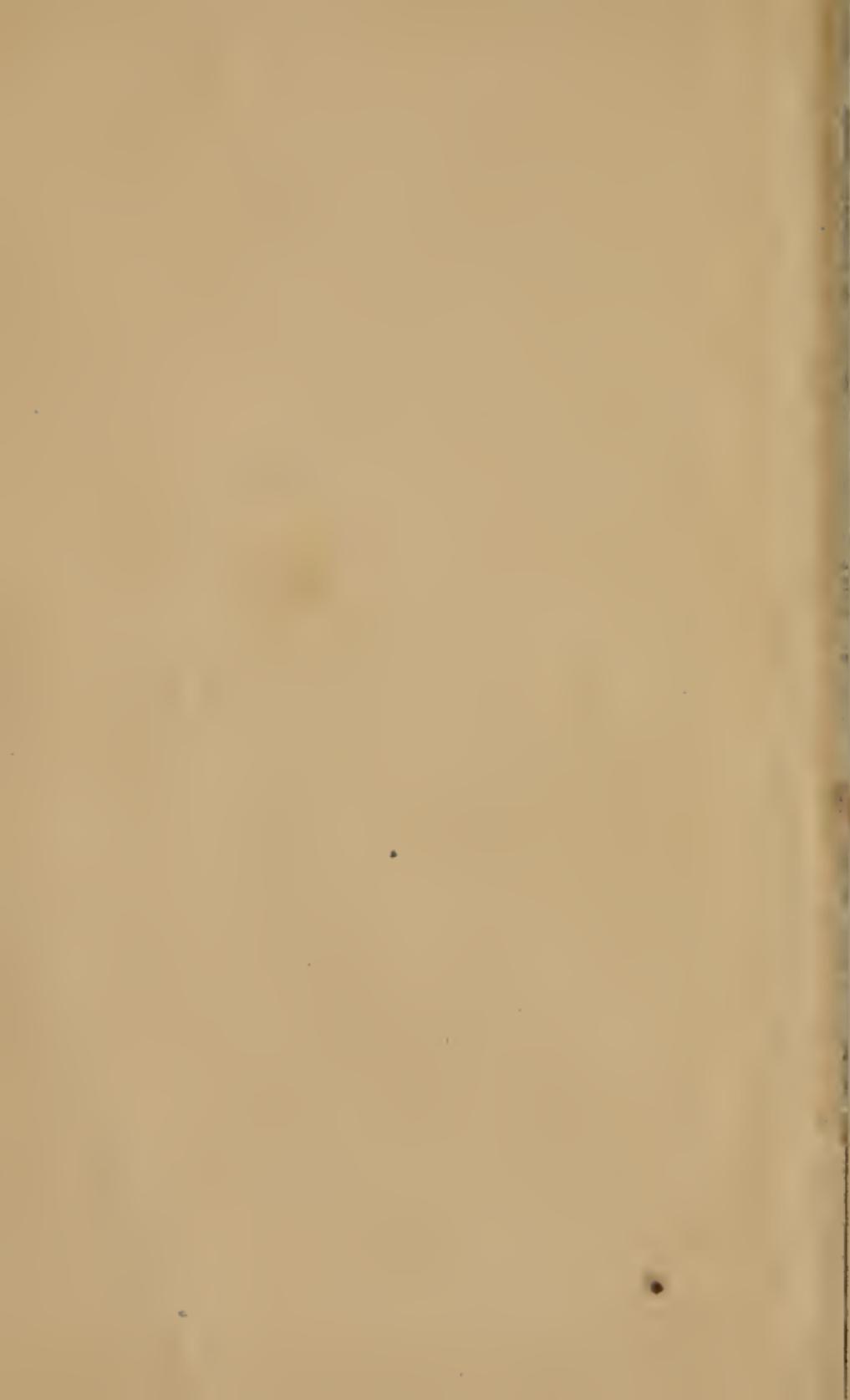
FROM

A CHINESE STANDPOINT.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. O. GIBSON.

SAN FRANCISCO:  
CUBERY & CO., PRINTERS, 414 MARKET STREET,  
Just below Sansome.

1874.





THE

# CHINESE QUESTION

FROM

## A CHINESE STANDPOINT.

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*To the People of the United States  
of America:*

BROTHERS:

Will you listen to a calm, respectful statement of the Chinese question from a Chinese standpoint? Public sentiment is strongly against us. Many rise up to curse us. Few

there are who seem willing, or who dare to utter a word in our defense, or in defense of our treaty rights in this country. The daily papers teem with bitter invectives against us. All the evils and miseries of our people are constantly pictured in an exaggerated form to the public, and our presence in this country is held up as an evil, and only evil, and that continually.

In California, Oregon and Nevada, laws, designed not to punish guilt and crime, nor yet to protect the lives and property of the innocent, have been enacted and executed discriminating against the Chinese; and the Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco, where the largest number of our

people reside, has surpassed even these State authorities, in efforts to afflict us, by what seems to us, most unjust, most oppressive, and most barbarous enactments. If these enactments are the legitimate offspring of the American civilization, and of the Jesus religion, you can hardly wonder if the Chinese people are somewhat slow to embrace the one or to adopt the other.

Unfortunately for us, our civilization has not attained to the use of the daily press--that mighty engine for inculding public sentiment in these lands--and we must even now appeal to the generosity of those, who perhaps bear us no good will, to give us a place in their columns to present our cause.

## THE POLICY OF CHINA.

1. We wish the American people to remember that the policy of the Chinese Government was strictly exclusive. She desired no treaty stipulations, no commercial relations, no interchange whatever with Europe or America. She was not willing that other people should come to reside in her limits, because she knew the antagonism of races. For the same reason she was unwilling that her subjects should go forth to other lands to reside.

But the United States and other Christian nations held very different views, and advocated a very different policy. Treaty stipulations, commercial relations, and friendly interchange of commodities and

persons were demanded of the Chinese. To secure these with China, pretexts for war were sought and found, and, as the result of defeat on the part of the Chinese, our Government was *compelled* to give up her traditional, time-honored policy, and to form treaties of friendship and interchange with her conquerors.

#### THE RESULT OF THIS POLICY.

2. Under these treaty stipulations *dictated* to China by Christian governments, the people of Europe and America have freely entered China for the purposes of trade, travel and Christian evangelization. Foreign residents in China are numerous, and many of them have amassed ample fortunes in that

land. Their presence has ever been hateful to a large portion of the Chinese people. It is but fair to state this fact, that as *much friction, if not more, is caused in China by the presence of foreigners than the Chinese are creating in this land.*

The declaimers against us because we supplant white laborers in this country ought to know, what is well known to all intelligent Chinamen, that the introduction of American and English steamers upon the rivers and coasts of China, has thrown out of business a vast fleet of junks, and out of employment a whole army of men, larger in number than all the Chinese now in America.

And yet during these few years

of commercial and friendly intercourse, a large commerce has sprung up between China and America, creating a community interest between the people of these two countries, and doing much to remove the strong prejudices of the Chinese against foreign intercourse American merchants, and American enterprise; American missionaries, and Christian doctrine meet with far less opposition and much greater favor in China now than formerly. Great changes are taking place in the popular sentiments of the people, a striking feature of which change is a marked partiality for the American Government and American civilization.

The Chinese Government has al-

ready sent a score of youths to this country to learn your language, your customs and laws, and proposes to send many more on the same errand. This fact of itself is significant.

THE PRESENT EMBARRASSING DEMANDS  
OF AMERICA UPON THE CHINESE  
GOVERNMENT.

3. We wish also to call the attention of the American public to the fact, that at the present time, the American and European Governments are greatly embarrassing the Chinese Government by strenuously insisting upon these two points, namely:

First, That Americans and other foreigners shall be permitted to travel, and trade, and preach in all

parts of the Chinese Empire without being subject to Chinese law. The foreign Governments insist upon their right to carry their code of laws with them into all parts of our country, thus humbling and disgracing our Government in the eyes of our own people. How would that shoe fit the other foot? Or how can this claim be reconciled to the "Golden Rule," considering the present treatment of Chinese in America?

Second, The audience question. Foreign governments insist upon holding audience through their representatives with the Emperor of China, without paying him the homage and respect which the Throne of China has ever received from all who came before it.

## INDUSTRIOUS.

4. We wish now also to ask the American people to remember that the Chinese in this country have been for the most part peacable and industrious. *We have kept no whisky saloons, and have had no drunken brawls, resulting in manslaughter and murder.* We have toiled patiently to build your railroads, to aid in harvesting your fruits and grain, and to reclaim your swamp lands. Our presence and labor on this coast we believe have made possible numerous manufacturing interests, which, without us could not exist on these shores. In the mining regions our people have been satisfied with claims deserted by the white men.

As a people we have the reputation, even *here and now*, of paying faithfully our rents, our taxes and our debts.

In view of all these facts we are constrained to ask why this bitter hostility against the few thousands of Chinese in America! Why these severe and barbarous enactments, discriminating against us, in favor of other nationalities.

From Europe you receive annually an immigration of 400,000, (among whom, judging from what we have observed, there are many—perhaps one-third—who are vagabonds, and scoundrels or plotters against your national and religious institutions. These, with all the evils they bring, you receive with

open arms, and at once give them the right of suffrage, and not seldom elect them to office. Why then this fearful opposition to the immigration of 15,000 or 20,000 Chinamen yearly.

But if opposed to our coming still, *in the name of our country, in the name of justice and humanity, in the name of Christianity, (as we understand it,) we protest against such severe and discriminating enactments against our people while living in this country under existing treaties.*

#### OUR PROPOSITION.

5. Finally, since our presence here is considered so detrimental to this country and is so offensive to the American people, we make this

proposition, and promise on our part, to use all our influence to carry it into effect. *We propose a speedy and perfect abrogation and repeal of the present treaty relations between China and America, requiring the retirement of all Chinese people and trade from these United States, and the withdrawing of all American people, and trade, and commercial intercourse whatever from China.*

This, *perhaps*, will give to the American people an opportunity of preserving for a longer time their civil and religious institutions, which, it is said, the immigration of the Chinese is calculated to destroy!

This arrangement will also, to some extent, relieve the Chinese people and Government, from the

serious embarrassments which now disturb them, and enable them by so much, to return to the traditional policy of their sages and statesmen, *i. e.:* "Stay at home and mind their own business, and let all other people do the same."

This is our proposition. Will the American people accept it? Will the newspapers, which have lately said so many things against us, and against our residence in this country, will they now aid us in bringing about this, to us, desirable state of affairs? In the meantime, since we are now here under sacred treaty stipulations, we humbly pray that we may be treated according to those stipulations, until such time as the treaty can be repealed, and

all commercial intercourse and friendly relations come to an end.

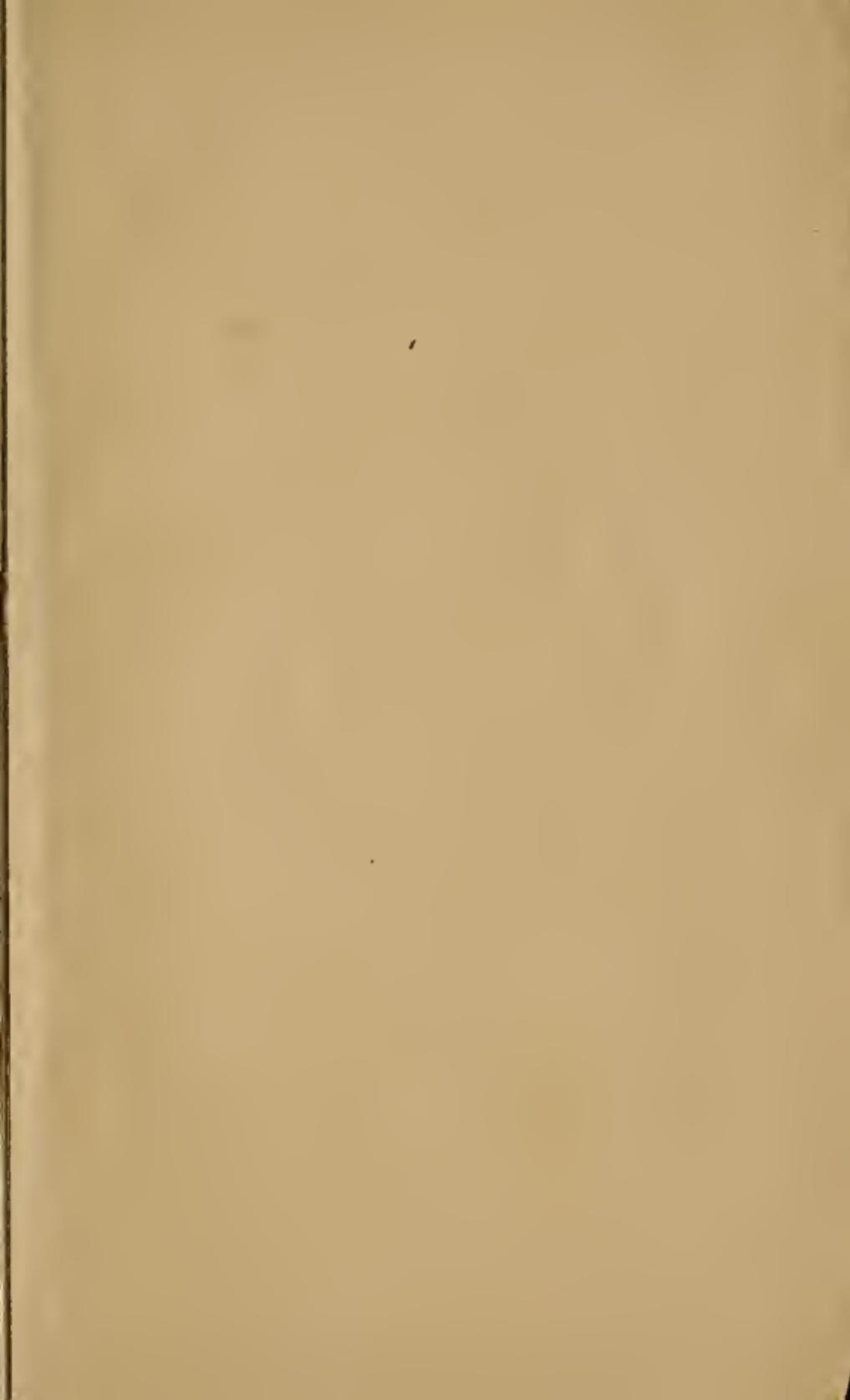
Signed in behalf of the Chinese in America, by

LAI YONG,  
YANG KAY,  
A YUP,  
LAI FOON,  
CHUNG LEONG.

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[Translated by REV. O. GIBSON, and read by him before the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, in the month of May, 1873, pending the discussion of certain enactments by that body, severely discriminating against the Chinese people.]







ON THE

CAL.

# CONTACT OF RACES:

CONSIDERED ESPECIALLY

WITH RELATION TO THE

## CHINESE QUESTION.

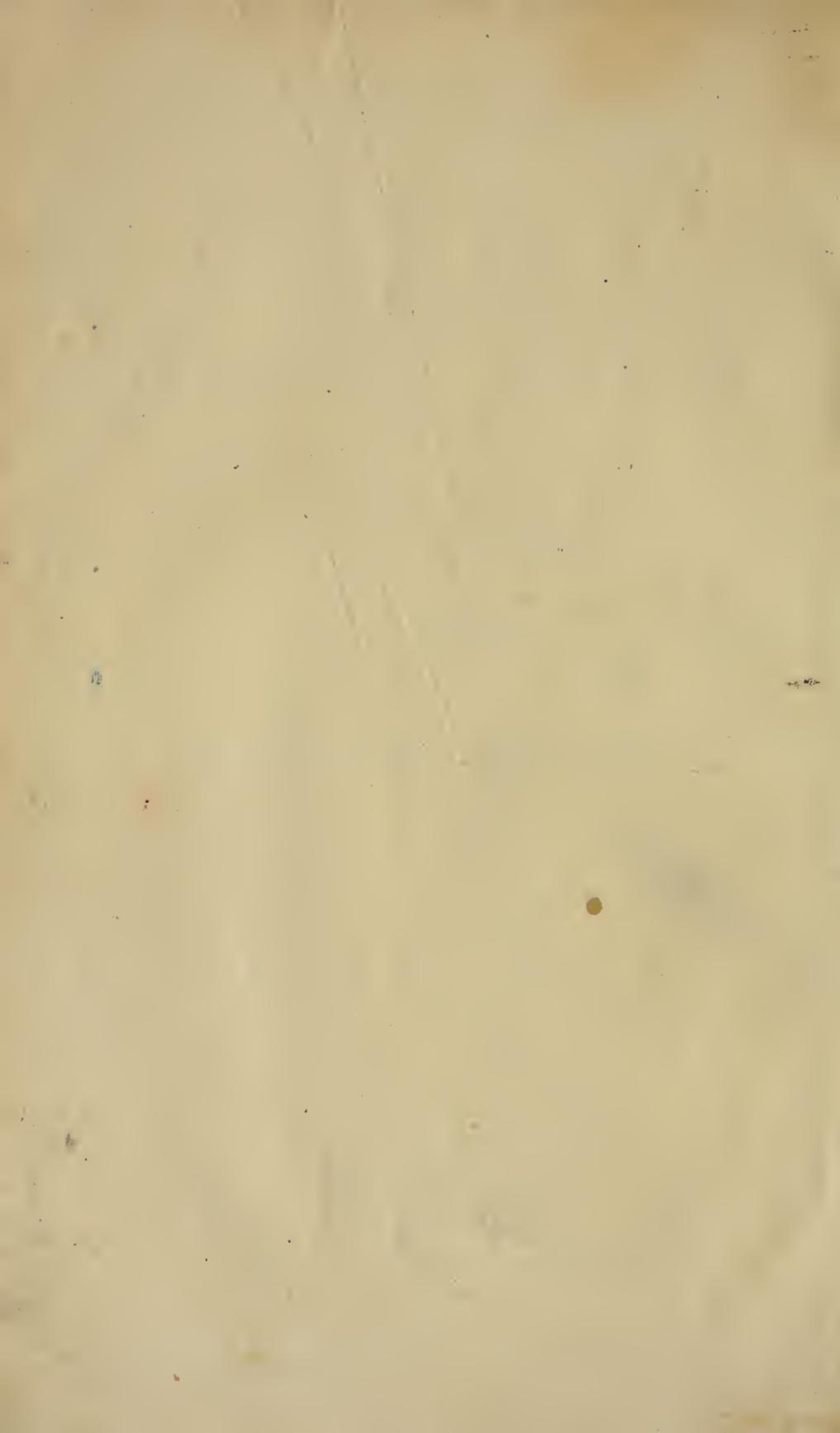
"Love thou thy land with love far-brought."—TENNYSON.

SAN FRANCISCO:

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ON THE

LAL.

# CONTACT OF RACES:

CONSIDERED ESPECIALLY

WITH RELATION TO THE

## CHINESE QUESTION.

*John Archbald*

“Love thou thy land with love far-brought.”—TENNYSON.

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

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The substance of the following pages has already appeared as a series of articles in the *Pacific* newspaper, but as the subject is an important one, and is becoming every day more so, I have determined to lay them again before the reader, in a connected form. In doing so, I have gladly availed myself of the opportunity to recast the whole, to abbreviate, condense and re-arrange my materials, which the pressure of other occupations denied me when I first wrote the articles alluded to. I am sensible that the views I advocate are likely to be so far from meeting with universal concurrence, that there will probably be but few who will not differ from me on one or other of the points connected with my subject. That, however, I cannot help. I have thought much and long on the subject; the more so, probably, that a great part of my life has been spent as a foreigner in a strange land, among people of another tongue, and I have come to my own conclusions with regard to it. All that I now ask is a candid consideration of my views, by the fair-thinking, unselfish, enlightened friends of California; and I ask it, on the one hand without any consciousness of presumption, as on the other, with a confident hope that there are many who will be willing to give it.

JOHN ARCHBALD.



# THE CONTACT OF RACES: THE CHINESE QUESTION.

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IN these latter days upon which our lot has fallen, days which might so well be characterized in the words of the poet as those

“Of the steamship, of the railway, of the thoughts that shake mankind,”

—in this phase of the world’s progress, when communication between distant nations has become so immeasurably more easy and more frequent than it was, even in the youthful days of men who are not yet old, a question, or a category of questions, which never loomed up before into much importance, now begins to call very imperatively for answer. Intercourse is no longer confined, as with only one or two exceptions of any importance it has been heretofore, to families of the same race, between whose ancestors sages and antiquarians trace kindred within the period of history ; but war, commerce, emigration, and missionary zeal, are daily bringing the different races themselves more and more into contact, and it is becoming every day more necessary to consider and establish the rules by which that contact is to be regulated. Nor is this a question which California can excuse herself from attending to, on the ground that she has still a great deal to do in setting in order the new house which she came into only about twelve years ago. It happens, on the contrary, that just here is one of the principal points of contact, and that the large immigration of Chinese into our country renders the question no longer one of merely general interest for us, which we might well postpone to a more convenient season, but one which it has become necessary for us to determine in the urgent now. On what principles shall we consider and determine it ? Shall it not be on those of never-failing, eternal justice and love ? Not always easy and agreeable is the application of these,

especially where wrong has already been done, and has begun to produce its bitter fruits ; and yet, woe be to us if we embody not just principles in every institution which we may be called upon to form, every law we may have to enact ; woe to us if from selfishness, or ignorance, or indifference, from the influence of party considerations, from impatience of obstacles, from dread of inconvenience or of offense to our sensibilities, we allow ourselves to be drawn aside from the principles of unbending right which ought to guide our conduct, and to tamper with the insidious, and always ineffective, patchwork measures of mere expediency. Our motto must ever be the truly noble one, " Whatever betide — for the right." In such a spirit, if my readers are ready to accompany me, I desire to consider this question, and I am certain that if I attempted to lead them to the consideration of it in any other, they would at once leave me contemptuously to pursue my way alone ; for I feel satisfied, notwithstanding all the proofs of corruption in high places, and individual demoralization which are, alas ! but too patent around us, that still the great heart of California beats responsive to the true and the right.

It was one of the great principles consecrated by the Fathers of our Republic, that all men, as regards their rights and privileges in the community, are born equal ; these rights belong to each one as a man ; he may lose them by his own crime, but excepting in that case, no man and no collection of men can rightfully deprive him of them. In conformity with this principle, they abolished hereditary monarchy and aristocracy ; nay, in order that there might be no semblance of anything to oppose it, they even abolished all titles excepting official ones, conferred by the vote of the community, and expiring (save by courtesy) with the tenure of office. They did more than this. In order that, as far as depended upon them, there might be no large class of men differing in position, privilege and right from the bulk of the community, they formally recorded their non-adherence, excepting in one case, (an exception arising no doubt from oversight, and one which it is now becoming necessary for us to remedy) to the doctrine that allegiance is determined by locality of birth-place, and is consequently not transferable. In opposition to this dogma, and requiring only such reasonable term of probation as should give opportunity to the foreigner to become acquainted with our institutions, and at the same time test the sincerity of his choice to live under them, they opened wide the door for his reception as one of ourselves, without reservation on the ground of birth-place, rank in life, wealth, education, nay, even of creed or of race. The exception to which I have alluded was, their omitting to make any provision for the transfer of allegiance by an American citizen to a foreign power. It was not an exception to the principle that they left part of the population deprived of all rights, personal, social, and political ; it was a conces-

sion to the necessities of their position, which they looked upon as only a temporary measure, and to which they were forced to submit, for the sake of that union which to them was identified with self-preservation. But their great principle was, that all men should be welcome to become members of the community, and that, in that capacity, they should be absolutely equal in the enjoyment of all civil rights and privileges. Were they right in thus putting down, as far as they could, every thing like a privileged class ? Let the bitter heart-burnings amongst all that suffer under Austrian rule or influence answer ; let the very slow progress made by Russia and Germany answer ; nay, we will go further, and say, let the halting, turbulent advance of our Southern States, cursed as they are with the legacy of that large unprivileged class which our fathers were unable to do away with—let that answer, in comparison with the steady, majestic, ever-increasing swell of northern progress. For the important matter which we have to bear in mind in this connection is, that it is not social inequality, but social injustice, which causes a fester in the body politic ; not the presence of an inferior class, but that of a privileged, or what comes to the same thing, a disprivileged body. It is not because one man has more than another that discontent arises ; it is because one man has more than his own rights, or another has less, or both. By the very constitution of our nature and of the universe, there must always be great social inequalities, but that does not necessarily give rise to either wrong or unhappiness. The wisest and most powerful will always govern. Let them do so ; it is not an enviable task. It not only always will be so in any well ordered community, but it ought to be so. That is the duty which God has plainly assigned to them in giving them their superior wisdom and influence ; and if they will but perform that duty well, respecting the rights and studying the interests of the less gifted mass which they govern, the latter, so far from envying or grudging them the power which they wield, will in almost all cases look up to them with reverence and gratitude ; nor will it make any difference at all that the inferior class consists, partly or wholly, of a different race from their governors. To apply this to our own case. Were the Chinese amongst us admitted to-morrow to the full enjoyment of all the privileges of citizenship, who does not perceive that with the exception of two or three of the more highly gifted among them, they would still remain socially what they now are, a body of patient drudges, doing light work for small pay, and rarely dreaming of placing themselves on an equality with the higher race amidst which they dwell. But they would cease to feel themselves strangers amongst us ; they would be sensible of our fairness and liberality towards them ; their work would be done more cheerfully, their taxes paid more in the spirit of a just contribution ; they would conform to our laws more voluntarily and more fully

than they do at present, and our whole body politic would become more homogeneous, firmer, stronger.

We have departed from the principles of our fathers, in this as in some other points of a similar nature ; nor can it fairly be said that we have been led to do so by a new experience which our fathers had not. It is true, they did not come in contact with the Mongolian race, but they did with the Ethiopic ; if they had no Chinese among them, they had negroes. We, their descendants, not content with excluding these foreign races from the ordinary privileges of citizenship, do not even leave them the same privileges that are enjoyed by other aliens, but by depriving them of the right of giving evidence, we effectively deprive them, to a considerable extent, of the protection of our courts of law !! This is an extreme of barbarism to which my memory hardly furnishes a parallel in any nation. Yet I do remember one. In Austria, Jews have long been incapable of giving legal testimony ; but even Austria, as I perceive by a recent notice, has found this disability a little too barbarous for the present age, and has removed it. Is it any compliment to California to compare her social institutions with those of Austria ? Few of my readers, I think, will admit that it is ; but what shall we say when, in such a comparison, we find ourselves compelled to set Austria above California ? A pretty idea strangers must have of our juries, concluding, as they naturally will do, that the law was enacted because of their incapacity to sift evidence, and judge of its truth or falsehood ; the only feasible reason that will occur to any one not well acquainted with the working of our "peculiar" institutions.

It is sometimes remarked as a *quasi* apology for duelling, polygamy etc., that they are "relics of barbarism," but even this poor excuse cannot be alleged for the barbarism we are considering ; it is wholly our own ; all the disgrace of it belongs to ourselves only. By the common law which rules all the countries of English descent, rebutting testimony may be introduced to show a jury that the testimony of any witness before them is worthless ; but to forbid them to hear the evidence of any human being, whatever his character or condition ! — nothing can be more completely antagonistic to its whole spirit, and to every one of its rules ; nor is there any thing in the statute law of England, or of any of her other children, at all approaching the nature of our provision. The fact is, we have made two very serious mistakes in this matter. Receiving into our country a large population, of a race which in its own land hardly rises to anything above the lowest and simplest social organization, and retaining that population in slavery, we have willfully and obstinately ignored the fact that, in consequence of their intercourse with us, and in the lapse of several generations, many of that race have risen to a standard considerably higher, as regards intellect and morality, than many

of our own. Hence it was not strange that, among our other plans for keeping them in a degraded state, we should fall upon this brilliant contrivance also; but it was not the less a very serious mistake. Not content with this, however, on coming in contact with another race, we have made the further mistake of not stopping for one moment to enquire what are their attainments, or capabilities, or previous training; but because the color of their skin also differs from that of ours, (though it differs from the first-mentioned race quite as much) we must lump them all together, and extend to the second the same disabilities, and the same treatment generally, that we do to the first!! Most irrefragable logic, certainly, and saves such a deal of trouble too!

To prove that our practice in this respect is a departure from the spirit of our forefathers, it will probably be sufficient to point out that a change in public opinion is all that would be required to cause the one word in our Constitution, whereby citizenship and its privileges are confined to the Caucasian race, to be set aside as incompatible with the Constitution of the United States, and therefore inoperative. For the only provision in the latter with regard to the subject, is the short clause which forms the first paragraph of Sec. 2d, Art. IV, in these words: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Now, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, colored persons are admissible to the standing of citizens; and if the very possible occurrence of one of these colored citizens coming here were to take place, he could certainly claim all the privileges of a citizen of California, on the same terms as any other person, the disqualification created by our Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding; and if one were admitted, it would be out of the question to exclude any. In the mean time, such is the law of California, adopted no doubt from a blind sort of feeling which I have heard expressed in the words: "We must draw the line somewhere." Now there is really some shadow of foundation for the idea, to this extent at least, that the same institutions which answer for a moderately intelligent community, capable of self-restraint, (the essential part of self-government) will not answer so well for a community composed in any great degree of ignorant, impulsive, ill-regulated natures. But we must not only "draw the line somewhere," —we must draw it in the right place and in the right direction, otherwise evil will come of it; we want not the easiest plan which will be sufficient in a rough way, but the best plan,—the one that will produce the greatest amount of good with the smallest amount of evil. It is quite clear, that to draw the line between white and colored skins, is to draw it in a direction wholly arbitrary and irrational, having none but a casual and very incomplete connection with the object to be attained, namely, the placing of the franchise in the hands of those who

will use it intelligently and well, for the advancement of the best interests of the community. For it is a very great mistake, though a very common one in arguing on this subject, to forget that the superiority of one race over another, does not in any way infer the superiority of all the individuals who form that race, over all those of the other. Indeed, though the differences indicated by the word "race" are real, still it would be exceedingly difficult to draw a line which should precisely separate one race from another in any way. Set a full blooded Chinaman alongside an American, and any one can tell the difference at a glance ; but place between them, beginning from the Chinaman, a Tartar of any eastern tribe, a Kirghis, a Turk, a Greek, a southern Spaniard, and a darkish skinned Irishman, and you will find that the passage over is a very gradual one. In like manner, we say that the Caucasian race is superior to all others ; but this is very far from meaning that any individual of the Caucasian race is superior to all the individuals of any other race ; on the contrary, in every other, there is a large part which is above the lowest level of the superior one. This is obvious to our very commonest experience ; every one amongst us must have known some negro or Chinaman a very great deal more respectable and estimable, morally, intellectually and physically, than many whites of his acquaintance ; and the induction from this seems clearly to be, that any sweeping measure which disfranchises or rejects a whole race, is unphilosophical—that is, contrary to common sense. Some restriction may be called for on their admission, to sift out the most inferior ; just as some such sifting process would be found desirable in a community composed wholly of one race or one nation, if the disparity of attainments and culture among its members were very great ; but in this case, I am of opinion we should find it most advisable to demand some educational or property qualification, or both combined, as requisite before their admission to the privileges of citizenship. Of course it must apply to the superior, as well as the inferior race ; since, otherwise, it becomes an injustice on the one hand, while on the other it will only partially attain its object,—that of confining the franchise, not to those whose skin is of a particular color, but to those who will use it conscientiously and intelligently. If, for instance, we were to make the law, that any person of legal age who can read and write his own language or ours fairly, and whose support is not at the public charge, like paupers, or Indians on our reservations, should be capable of citizenship on the present conditions of residence, etc., would it not both give us a good many valuable citizens, and save us from a good many who are the very reverse of valuable ? Would it not be very much more reasonable than our present provision, that any male white person can be a citizen, though half an idiot intellectually, and a great deal worse than any brute morally ?

If the educational test, just suggested, would not be a complete

barrier in keeping out all those who are unfit, intellectually or morally, for performing the duties of a citizen, it would be found to fail a great deal more among our own people than it would among the colored races. But we should thus, at least, come a good deal nearer the true direction, as well as the attainment of the object sought for ; and if it is true that many bad men can read and write, while some good men cannot, this would merely make it advisable to leave a discretionary power to a certain extent, in the hands of the Courts empowered to admit naturalized citizens, as in fact I believe is now the case, though I cannot say how far or how frequently it is exercised. As a general rule, it is incontrovertible that ignorance and vice go much together ; and that there is no greater foe to crime and evil, than education. In point of fact, this test and the disinclination of the newly arrived together, would exclude the great bulk of the Chinese who are at present here, from acquiring citizenship ; and those who would be able to stand it, and claim admission, would be men whom it would be worth our while to have as citizens. But it would form a motive of no slight power, with a great many of them, to acquire an education ; and as that education, acquired here, must of necessity be an American and a Christian one, there would be yet another guarantee against any danger from them to our institutions. And it is further to be borne in mind, that this objection of unfitness, whatever it may amount to, applies only to those born abroad, who come here adults, with their habits in the main formed, and their feelings tolerably fixed. If our present line of discrimination is a stupidity and an injustice towards them, how much more so towards the rising generation of them who have been born in the country, who are, or ought to be, brought up in our schools together with our children, and grow up in a great measure with the same attachments, the same ideas, the same habits that they do ; who have no country at all, if this is not to be their country, and can take no share whatever in the business of the world, if they are not allowed to take hold along with us ? To these it will be, and they will feel it to be, yet more of an injustice and a hardship than their fathers. The latter come here as strangers, and retain the remembrance of another land as their native country ; the former have never known other skies nor other soil ; here they were born, and here they belong ; nor would China be to them, supposing them to return there, less of a foreign land than California. Born under our system, growing up under it and controlled by its influences, they would necessarily come to comprehend it far better than their fathers can ever do ; and, comprehending it, they would not fail to appreciate its advantages, to acknowledge its claims, and to obey its requirements.

The fact is, the great reason of all the outcry that is made against the Chinese, and all the ill will that exists against them, is precisely that same narrow prejudice, arising from limited knowledge, which

made them so long close their doors against the “outside barbarians.” The man who passes all his life among one class of society, receiving only one set of ideas, feelings and habits, will almost necessarily adopt these as his standard ; and every thing that does not chime in with them will be rejected as out of the way, singular, foolish, inferior, perhaps wrong, simply because it differs from preconceived ideas. Hence, when such a man comes in contact with foreigners, he almost necessarily dislikes them, because he judges them for some time, though probably very unconsciously, by an arbitrary and often an inapplicable standard. It requires considerable and varied intercourse to teach him, that of the customs, singular to him, which they follow, many are harmless, arising like his own from institutions that once governed long dead and forgotten ancestors ; others are salutary, arising from differences of climate or of local situation which he had not at first taken notice of. The language so uncouth to him while it conveyed no ideas, he finds after he has learned it, to be sonorous or musical, or curious ; readily adaptable to the harmless jest that gives life its savor, or strongly expressive of the deep feeling that forms its well-spring. By and by he finds that the hearts which at first seemed to him so cold, beat warmly enough for wife and child ; that they can take in friends and acquaintances ; nay, that there is even a warm corner in some of them for him, the stranger from a far land, if he will but creep into it. Then comes the time when he can somewhat dispassionately compare the old with the new, the habits, ideas, institutions of his own land, with those of the one he is living in ; and if, as is perfectly possible, he continues to give a preference upon the whole to the former, it will nevertheless be strange indeed if he does not find something in the latter that might advantageously be adopted into them. It is only then he will “love his land with love far-brought,” and love it all the more strongly and firmly because it is no longer an unreasoning love ; none the less warmly because he also appreciates at their due value the good qualities in the foreigner which have conquered his esteem. And thus, when more extended experience brings him in contact with yet stranger faces, he will give them also credit for having something lovable in them, if he can but get a chance to develop it ; in the spirit of that most beautiful parable of our Lord, which represents as the neighbor of him “who fell among thieves,” not the priest nor the Levite of his own blood, but one only half related by race, an alien in creed, and yet more strongly alienated by inveterate national hatred.

The narrow prejudice to which I have referred, has less influence with Americans than with most other nations, whether politically or socially. We welcome to all the privileges of citizenship, and as a general thing we do not refuse to hold social intercourse with Irish, Germans, Poles, Russians or any European nation, according to the

qualities and position of the individuals ; we do not even make an exception of Hungarians or Finns, although there is no ethnographical fact more certain than that they are not of the Caucasian race, consequently, to all legal intents and purposes, not white men. In short, we have got so far over our prejudices that we do not allow them to influence us very much with regard to men of other families of our own race, provided they do not greatly differ from us in personal appearance ; we have not yet got over them so far as to see the man within, when the color of the skin or the shape of the eyes happens to differ from our own. History (in the Bible as well as the Vedas) tells us that the Hindoo is a son of Japhet like ourselves, and the Bedouin Arab a son of his brother Shem ; but I am afraid that if either the one or the other were to make his appearance here in San Francisco, he would be summarily relegated to the category of "niggers," in spite of historical or any other considerations. Doubtless this term, in such common use amongst us, points to the circumstance which first originated the prejudice, and has since maintained it in such strength that it has survived, in a part of our country, even the extinction of slavery. Strange ! that changing its form, it should yet retain so much of its strength. Little over eighty years ago the black soldier in our revolutionary armies ate out of the same kit with the white soldier at mess, knelt beside him in prayer, and stood shoulder to shoulder with him when he levelled his bayonet for the charge. What northern soldier would now submit to such contamination ? even though equally delicate physical organizations, two or three degrees nearer the line, do not seem to find it particularly offensive ! But I must not wander from my subject. I set out with the intention of observing that, although the real reason of our treating the Chinese in the way we do, is nothing else than the senseless prejudice I have referred to, yet that, of course, is never the reason alleged. Others are found "as thick as blackberries," and it will be necessary for us to consider some of them a little.

The first and commonest is, that Chinese competition deprives our own laborers of employment, and reduces their wages. There is a fallacy in this that does not always meet our observation, and I may as well notice it at the commencement of the argument as elsewhere. The objectors reason throughout as if the laboring class were the whole community. It is not so ; we have consumers here as well as producers ; more than that, the laborers themselves are at once consumers and producers. Just so far as Chinese competition reduces the wages of labor, the laborers themselves, as consumers, profit in part by the reduction of prices which necessarily ensues, and the remainder of the community profit by it to the whole extent of the balance. What the producer loses, the consumer gains ; the community then loses nothing, since it consists of the two classes. Yet we have a great

outcry, now and then, from some such small class as the cigar-makers for instance, that their trade is ruined by Chinese competition! Just as if it were a great advantage to the community to have to pay dear for cigars, soothing its feelings by the consideration that they have been made by some great hulking fellow, of pure white blood, who ought to be ashamed of himself for having taken up any such trifling employment, when his proper place was evidently behind the plough, instead of a lithe, nimble-fingered Chinaman, who, at the tail of one of our ploughs would cut a very contemptible figure indeed, but who can roll up cigars fast and well, and therefore cheaply. The community, one would think, would feel but little sympathy with any such outcry.

But let us look a little more closely at this competition, and see what it amounts to. Those amongst us who take the trouble to think about anything beyond the circle of their own personal concerns, including of course the whole tribe of newspaper writers, seem to have come unanimously to the conclusion, that the great want of California is immigration. Even the railroad is desired principally with a view to this end; not so much to enable our citizens to send their gold or their other merchandize, and to carry themselves East, as to facilitate the westwardly migration of the industrious farmers and mechanics who feel themselves crowded in our eastern States, or of the great wave that is constantly overflowing from the swelling population of Europe. From this general conclusion I am so far from dissenting that I should be glad to see more people coming; I, nevertheless, differ from some who hold it, or at least go considerably beyond them, in wishing the population to be assorted, and the more varied the assortment the better. For some months to come, perhaps for a twelve-month, I should be glad to hear of no more physicians, lawyers, or merchants coming, including in each department all their subordinate branches of druggists, clerks, shopkeepers, porters, etc.; my reasons are, the difficulty which I perceive is experienced in obtaining any kind of city employment, the great crowding even of what the French call *les petits métiers*, (such as shoe-blacking, rag-picking, bottle-gathering, &c.) the constant drainage of population from the cities to the country, and the fact that so very few who become bankrupt in any kind of city business are able to arrange with their creditors and go on again, as they do elsewhere. On the other hand, for some years to come, I am sure that every one will be glad to see every fresh arrival of "God's police"—women and children; for the number of men who go East by every steamer to bring out their wives and families, or to get themselves wives, is conclusive evidence that we have too few of them. For a similar reason, I am pleased to see a number of Chinese in the country, and to see an insurmountable barrier set up against the prohibition of their coming; but here I find myself so

far from going along swimmingly with the unanimous verdict, that it is doubtful to me if I am even on the side of the majority. As regards speakers and writers, at least, this is the case; if the thinkers were to be reckoned, I am inclined to believe it would be different; but I have often been a little surprised to hear a man calling out in one breath for a railroad to give us more immigration, and in the next for a law to exclude Chinese. Our Australian cousins are, if less liberal, at least more consistent than we are. They object, as some of us do, to the influx of Chinese; but, at the same time, they insist upon their local legislatures ceasing to apply the proceeds of their land sales, as they have hitherto done, to the encouragement of immigration, *because it lowers wages*. They will not have English, Scotch nor Irish laborers, any more than Chinese. They ask for class legislation of the very worst kind, but they show that at all events they understand better how to gain their end. This call for the exclusion of Chinese labor is indeed a singular one to come from the mouths or pens of men who are at the same time calling out, most lustily, for an influx of laborers; since there is no truth of chemical or astronomical science more certain than this fact, that not a single Irish laborer comes here who does not get a livelihood, *in part*, by taking a piece of the bread—or of the potato—out of the mouth of his countryman who labors alongside of him; and the same is equally true of the German, the American, or any other. I say *in part*, because he also gets his living in part, not by helping to produce the same values more cheaply, (since in that case he would be getting the whole of it out of his fellow-laborer's mouth) but by creating new and additional values; that is, not by working in the same quarry, or lime-kiln, or saw-mill, or farm, but by getting employment in another one newly opened. The country is growing, and there is room yet for a good deal more labor; but that it is not growing *in an equal proportion* with the increased supply of labor, is self-evident to any one who understands the question, from the fact that the wages of labor now are not one-half of what they were six or eight years ago. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, I have no hesitation in affirming that the influx of Chinese labor does not produce this effect, rather perhaps the contrary; that the allegation of Chinese labor injuring our laborers through competition, is almost wholly false in fact, and equally so in reasoning. Perhaps a little instance will help me to make my meaning clear, more easily and more effectively than I can in any other way.

Some of my readers—perhaps not many—may have seen and may remember a paragraph in the *Morning Call*, some time in the end of 1859, in which a scathing rebuke was administered to one of our Front street merchants, for turning a McDonald out of his employment, and putting in a Chinaman instead; and occasion was taken to call upon the working men of the country to rise in the might of their strong

arms, &c., &c., &c., and refuse to work for any man who employed Chinese labor. I took the trouble to inquire into the facts of the case at the time, and as they illustrate my position well, I will state them here. McDonald's wife came to the merchant complained of, begging for work for her husband ; and though the merchant was not particularly in want of hands, he made a berth for McDonald in the warehouse at the current wages of white labor, first by the day, afterwards by the month. After some time, another person called Evans, known to the merchant, also applied to him for work, but every place was full, and the merchant could only tell him that if, in the meantime, he would take Chinaman's work at Chinaman's wages, he was welcome to it until something better should turn up ; as soon as it did, he would be glad to help him. Evans was but too glad of the offer ; a Chinaman was turned out, and Evans turned in. The establishment was a rice-mill, in which the work of the Chinese was to ladle the rice as it came out of the mill into small mats, place them on the scales to be weighed, and then tie them up. This, as any one will see, was not work for a strong man, but for a boy of fourteen, or for Chinamen ; these, moreover, had this advantage over any white laborers, old or young, that, having been accustomed to just the same work in their own country, they had a quickness and handiness in doing it which it would take any white man or woman a long time to acquire. So far then, any one would think that it was all right ; but not so thought McDonald. He made Evans' life bitter to him by sarcasms upon his *meanness* in working for Chinaman's wages, as if any honest labor could be called mean ; he went so far also as to cast reflections upon the merchant for *degrading* a fellow-countryman, by putting him to work with a parcel of Chinese. This coming to the merchant's ears, he instructed his foreman to warn McDonald that he could not be allowed to interfere with his fellow-workman, and if he persisted in it, to discharge him. The warning was useless ; the pride of caste was too strong in the soul of the Celt ; he was consequently discharged, and *not* a Chinaman, but Evans, was put in his place. I am sure every one of my readers will concur in the celebrated verdict of the Illinois jury ; "Served him right." Here then is an establishment in which Chinese labor does not compete with American ; more than that, one in which several American workmen obtain employment *because there are a number of Chinese* employed in it ; one in which they *could not obtain* any employment at all, *if the Chinese were not employed* in it ; because, if unskilled labor of little value, such as for weighing and tying up bags, were not obtainable at low wages, the establishment would never have come into existence. The rice would not pay for the cleaning, if it had all to be done by men working at the current rates of white labor ; the capitalist who started it would have had to wait for his mill till the number of unemployed women

and children among us furnished him with labor at the necessary rates, and the skilled laborers he employs would have had to wait till then for their wages, as far as he was concerned ; competing in the mean time with others elsewhere, and consequently bringing down the rate for all !

Is this establishment the only one of the kind in California ? Not by a great many ; no, not even in San Francisco, as every one knows who knows anything about our rope-walks and other incipient manufactures ; and thus the Chinese immigration, instead of being a detriment to our laboring classes, becomes a direct and positive benefit to them. It renders actual an amount of employment for them, of the best paid kind too, which without it could not possibly exist. I ask my readers to estimate by this the mischief of the senseless call upon working men to refuse to work for any one who employs Chinamen ! Few, it is true, are likely to attain to such a pitch of Spartan self-denial in practice, but many may be so far misled by the confident assertion as to entertain a most unfounded ill feeling, both against their employers and against the Chinese, when in point of fact they ought to be grateful to both ; and thus secure for themselves an appreciable amount of unhappiness, which ought, on the contrary, to be an equal amount of contentment and peace. But is this the only way in which Chinese labor competes with white labor ?

If it is not, I should be glad to learn in what way it does ? Where are the gangs of Chinese that grade our streets, construct our large buildings, make our roads, plough our fields, cut down our harvests, manage our steam engines and machinery, fabricate our furniture, nay, cultivate our market gardens and orchards, or even herd our sheep ? Not in this section of the country, I am sure, or I must have seen them ; not in any other, I believe, or I should have heard enough about them from the newspapers. Indeed, in regard to all these employments except, perhaps, the two last mentioned, gardening and sheep herding, our laborers have a perfect guarantee against competition from Chinamen, in the physical inferiority of the latter. When a railroad was to be made from Balaklava to Sebastopol, the contractor found it cheaper to pay English navvies (railway laborers) high wages, in order to induce them to leave home, losing all the time of their voyage out and back, than to employ the Croats and Bulgarians whom he could procure with ease on the spot, at less than half the rates ; yet Croats and Bulgarians are at least stronger than Chinese, and not less skillful or willing to work. They would go on without flagging from morning till night, but at the end of the day it was found that the active Irishman, or the brawny Northumbrian, running out his three hundred weights of stuff at every load, had done three times as much towards the embankment as any one of them ; and that his pick, driven by a strong arm and a practiced eye, had graded down a rod

for every yard of theirs. It is precisely the same here; and the first street contractor or farmer you ask will tell you, that it is a good deal cheaper to employ Americans, or Europeans of any northern nation, at \$2 50 a day, than Chinese at \$1. If it were not, be very sure you would soon see Chinamen employed in that way, for it certainly is not pure patriotism that induces street contractors to employ their countrymen in preference. As to gardening, I do not know how the reckoning might stand, but I know that the Chinese do not compete in this line—not here, at all events; in Los Angeles, and the country thereabouts, I am told that a good deal of the vineyard work is done by Indians, which is a still lower grade of labor power; and as to sheep herding, which in Australia is looked upon as an occupation rather below the dignity of an able bodied man, to such an extent that those engaged in it are known by the somewhat contemptuous name of “crawlers,” I have no means of knowing whether many Chinese are employed in it or not. It seems to be an occupation better suited for their slow, patient industry and plodding gait, than for the sinewy arms and firm step of one of our laborers; in any case, it is a single item, and a small one. I am reminded by the searching eye of a Chinese fisherman, looking up at my window, of another branch of labor in which they compete, and it seems rather successfully too; with Italians and Portuguese, however, if I may judge by eye and ear, rather than with Americans. Poor wretches!\* it would be a little hard if they missed it in everything! And now, have I gone through the list? No, says an up country paper; they come up into the mines here, and trouble us too, more than enough. Now, where they work in fresh placer diggings, they may no doubt take up ground which might be worked by Caucasian miners, and to that extent they come into competition with them. Whether that competition is a loss to the community, as well as to the white man who might have got their claim, we have already considered; and we have seen that inasmuch as the result to the community, namely, the gold's being cheaply produced, is the same either way, it is no loss to it. I have further to remark, that in this business, as well as in other kinds of labor, the white man still has the same advantage in his superior physical

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\* Poor wretches, sure enough! It seems that even that little bit of success was too much, in the eyes of our precious legislators, to be allowed them without a grudge; so now, by a piece of the very meanest, shabbiest, and most spiteful law-making on record, the poor creatures have got to pay a license of four dollars per month! The only possible effect of the law, if enforced, will be to deprive a few hard-working wretches of their daily bread, and to make fish a little dearer to the white people who eat it; if not enforced, to create some amount of gratuitous suffering, alarm, and ill-will; in either case, to disgrace California till repealed. The occupation is one that comes as near to creating a value out of nothing, and interferes as little with anybody, as one can well conceive;—that is, with anybody but the few Maltese and Genoese who are almost their only competitors in this section of the country.

strength, higher intelligence, and better opportunities of combination ; so that the bad treatment which they so often receive from our miners, and the barbarous legislation which throws obstacles in the way of their working there, are but a senseless and objectless waste of the labor-power of the community. But the whole objection sinks into insignificance when we consider that, as a general thing, they only take up claims which have been wrought out and abandoned by white diggers, or work tailings, and that they make wages such as no American miner could live upon. In this case it is clear that there is no competition at all, and that all the gold taken out by the Chinese is just so much clear gain. The white miner has worked out his claim ; to him it is valueless ; why should he be such a dog in the manger as to hinder any one, Chinese or Cossack, from getting any little profit he can out of it ? Is he afraid that the gold which the Chinaman takes out will come into competition with his ? If it had to be used only in his own little mining-camp and its vicinity, there might be something in that ; but the market is the world, and the depreciation will be exactly the proportion that the whole sum taken from the abandoned claims bears to the whole quantity of gold in use in the world at the time ; a thousandth part of one per cent., probably, or some similar inappreciably small fraction.

It really is hardly worth while to notice another argument brought forward in this connection, namely, that though worthless now, the time may come when labor will have fallen so low as to make these exhausted claims valuable again. That time clearly cannot come until all the natural resources of California have been exhausted to the same proportional extent as these claims, so that, whatever interest the point may have for our remote posterity, it has infinitesimally little for us. The resources of California, thank God, are not so miserably stinted, its placers and quartz veins so nearly exhausted, its arable lands so sterile, its pastures so bare, its climate so inauspicious, that it has become worth while to look forward to a time when wages will be reduced so low amongst us, as to make Irishmen and Dutchmen contend with Chinese for the tailings of our quartz mills, for our worked-out placers ; and until they are, we may as well be spared this miserable bosh about the Chinese exhausting our worked-out mining claims.

I think I have now shown that Chinese labor does not lower the rate of white labor, because, in point of fact, it does not compete with it, any more than bread competes with beef. But it completes the assortment of our labor market—to recur to a figure I have used above, it furnishes us with a quality of labor which we want, at a price which we can afford to pay, thus enabling us to employ other qualities to the best advantage, and pay more for them ! Let us briefly glance at another objection ; it need not detain us long.

We are told that the Chinese bring no advantage to the country,

because they are not a permanent population, and carry away all their earnings. Now, in the first place, this objection is not applicable to the Chinese only. The days are happily gone by when the great bulk of our population was professedly only temporary, when nine men out of every ten spoke of some other place as home, and looked forward to a speedy return thither, with all that they could scrape out of California. But if strict inquiry were made, I am certain that a good many of that class could still be found, and a yet larger number of those who send away a part of the produce of their labor to another country, for the support of an absent wife and family, or aged mother, or sick sister, which, so far as it goes, amounts to precisely the same thing. These, at least, ought not to throw the first stone at the poor Chinese. But let us examine the objection. You say the Chinese carry away the produce of their labor. Well; then what the worse are we? If they did not come here and labor that produce would not exist. If they did not work our exhausted claims, the gold they take out would remain there, where it has no appreciable value. Its only value consists in the labor which takes it out, just as the only value of the few fish they offer for sale consists in their being caught and brought to our doors. While they remain in our bay they have none, any more than the gold while it remains in the tailings. So far, then, if we are none the better, we are none the worse. The account is exactly balanced; debit, so much labor, credit, an equal value in gold and fish. But are the items correct? Do the Chinese, while here, live upon air and water, and wear—as little as you would care to mention? All these China and Calcutta ships that come into our harbor, (none of them Chinese by-the-by)—do they bring cargoes of rice and chow-chow only for Irishmen and Dutchmen? It seems to me that I could point out several buildings in the city, rather respectable ones too, of which not one brick would ever have been laid upon another, but for the industry and capital of the despised Chinaman. Carry that to his credit; it is quite an item. Again, I think I have read, probably in the up-country paper above mentioned, that in some of the mining counties they would have hard work to make out their taxes, but for John's assistance. Carry that to his credit too; a big item. No; the account is certainly not to be ruled off; there is a considerable balance outstanding on it, and that balance is to *the credit of the Chinese*, not of California. As to the non-permanency of the population, if that population is to be called transitory of which only the individuals change, and for every one that goes another comes, I think I could name several Chinese who have been here longer than nine-tenths of ourselves, whose wives and families are around them, whose business and capital are on the spot, and who appear as little likely to leave it as any one, until, perhaps, their bodies are put into a leaden coffin, to be carried to the burial

place of their fathers, as I have known a good deal more than one, not Chinese, carried to New York from a similar and very natural motive. In the mean time, it is worth our while to consider what encouragement we give them to settle here, and make it their country; or how many of ourselves, if treated in some foreign country, say Affghanistan,—or say China,—as the Chinese are here, would send for our wives and families, and set up our household gods there. Really, our objection, taken in connection with our treatment of them, is about as rational and consistent as the discipline of Old Fritz, of Prussia, when he caught the Jew trying to get out of his way. The poor fellow confessed that he did so because he was afraid; whereupon Fritz administered to him a most unmerciful caning, exclaiming at every blow, "Do you hear, you scoundrel? I want my subjects to love me, and not to be afraid of me!" Our lessons of love to the Chinese are certainly not wanting in impressiveness.

In like manner, what we have already said will serve to answer another objection, or call it a warning, obtruded upon us with much earnestness. We are told to remember that there is no limit to the capacity of China and the adjacent countries possessed by the Mongolian race, to supply California with inhabitants of that stock. Let it once be admitted that they shall have the range of the gold mines, and of all the inferior employments in this State, nothing would be more easy than to introduce 200,000 a year. Perhaps, too, some of my readers' minds may be troubled with visions of hordes of still more ignorant savages coming over here, if they are allowed to do so, and pushing us from our seats by the power of cheap labor. If there are any such ideas entertained respecting our uncivilized neighbors, it would be a comforting reflection that they could not get a living if they were to come; and no more could 200,000 Chinese, if they were all to come in a single year. Let any man picture to himself even 2,000 Malays, from Borneo or Celebes, coming here, and try to sketch out any feasible plan whereby, in this country, they could manage to get food sufficient to keep soul and body together! The thing could not be done. If they are to live by hunting and fishing they would require so much ground, and that ground must be at such a distance from the haunts of white men that practically they would not find room in California; and they cannot live in our midst, because they have neither the will, nor the skill, nor the strength to do any sort of work that would be worth anybody's while to pay them for; they must leave or starve. Now the Chinese are not Malays. They can do a good many things that it is worth our while to pay them for doing, but for all that, their labor is quite inferior in quality, and the demand for it is limited. They cannot come here and compete successfully with our merchants, our mechanics, our farmers, our laborers nor our miners, (except under particular and very limited

circumstances, such as some trade with China or among themselves) because they are inferior in knowledge, activity and bodily strength; only the lower departments of unskilled labor are open to them, those in which it is a waste of labor to employ white men, (such as cigar making, hawking fish, tending sheep, &c.) and the extent of these lower departments is limited by the extent of the higher; or, in other words, the number of Chinese that can find employment amongst us is limited by the number of white people that there are to give them employment. I can well remember that six or eight years ago quite considerable numbers of them were employed as domestic servants; now they are almost wholly supplanted by Irish girls; yet I may remark in passing that the wages of the latter have fallen from \$50 a month to \$25, notwithstanding that they no longer have to meet Chinese competition. Formerly there were not a great many other washermen in the place; now, steam and machinery are ousting them to a considerable extent from that occupation also. The fact of the matter is, let our legislative restrictions be as light as they may, their number can only increase in two ways: either by their advancing in intelligence, knowledge and enterprise, so as to become capable of higher employments—rising to our own type, in short, in which case why should we not be as glad to have them as so many Irishmen or Dutchmen? or by the natural increase of population creating a wider field of inferior labor—by an increase of boots calling for more boot blacks. And there is one patent fact which is perfectly conclusive on this subject, namely, that they have been coming and going for the last ten or eleven years, during all of which time China has been quite as capable as now of furnishing her 200,000 a year, and they have had the range of all the inferior employments in this State, as well as of the mines also to some extent, yet no one estimates their numbers to-day at much over 40,000. This idea of any indefinite increase is perfectly futile.

Another objection, which is still alleged at times, though less frequently now than formerly, is that a great part of them are coolies, which is understood to be a term nearly, if not quite equivalent to slaves; and further, that they constitute an *imperium in imperio*, that is, that they govern themselves here in California by their own laws and customs, not by the law of the land, a state of things always fraught with evil and danger. With regard to the Chinese anywhere, these allegations are greatly exaggerated; with regard to those who come here, the coloring of truth in them is extremely faint. Emigration is not at all a new thing among them, the laws of the empire to the contrary notwithstanding. For at least half a century back they have swarmed in all the Malay countries in their neighborhood, from Singapore to Manila, and being there a superior race, they have thriven and prospered. Coolyism, also, is not unknown among them,

but here we must distinguish; *il y a fagots et fagots*, our French neighbors tell us, and in like manner there are coolies and coolies.

The coolies that the French take from the east coast of Africa to the Mauritius are slaves in all but the name. They are incapable of estimating, scarcely capable of comprehending, the terms of the contract into which they are alleged to enter; their choice in regard to it is so limited that most of them are brought down to the coast in irons; the labor which the contract binds them to execute is to them excessive, very much harder than any they ever do in their own country, and, to the bulk of them, terminates only with life. The Chinese coolies, who engage with European capitalists to go to Cuba and elsewhere, are in a different position. They have to work hard at home for a bare sustenance; the conditions of their contract they can understand, and are prepared to enforce as well as to perform; they have not to labor harder abroad than they have at home, and they are not wholly debarred from gaining something for themselves over and above the compensations fixed by their contract. All this does not prove, of course, that the terms of their contracts are always fair and equitable, or that the capitalist never uses his superior knowledge of foreign markets to make a good thing out of the bone and muscle of the Celestials. But it does prove sufficiently that the Chinese coolie is something essentially and very considerably different from a slave. He has his rights as well as his obligations. He may have made a hard bargain, but it is at all events a bargain that he has made for himself, and he can claim the fulfillment of the engagements made towards him, as well as be obliged to fulfill those which he has made.

Finally, with regard to the Chinese who come here, I have been fortunate enough to fall in with an address to Governor Bigler, from the respectable Chinese residents in this city, on the occasion of his Annual Message in 1855. It is a small pamphlet, the contents of which are certainly worthy of being better known, and more studied in California than they have been; and in it, among other things, they distinctly deny that any of the Chinese who come here are coolies. As they are at once intelligent and credible witnesses on this point, worthy of full faith and credence, we have every reason to believe that their testimony is true. Let us pass on to the other point urged against them, namely: that they administer and are governed by their own laws, thus constituting an empire within an empire.

The only thing like a foundation for the charge which I have been able to find, after careful inquiry, is, that in a very few individual cases, one, I think, the collection of a debt, and one or two more relating to the disposal of their women, attempts have been made to use violence for the accomplishment of purposes not discordant with

their views, though not allowed by our laws. But all these cases were discountenanced by the respectable part of the Chinese community ; they were never sufficient in number to amount to anything like a systematic administration of foreign law, and, moreover, as there have been none for several years back, they must be held now, at least, to be non-existent. It is not improbable that the charge is believed more generally than it would otherwise be, from the existence among them of an institution to which we have hardly anything analogous in our system. I allude to their unions, or companies, as they are called, and as these illustrate well a trait in their character which is worthy of attention, I shall take occasion to notice them, but in another place.

In the meantime, I go on to consider the last objection to the admission of the Chinese which occurs to me, namely : that they are offensive, not negatively, but positively ; that they are a filthy set, their customs different from ours, many of them disagreeable, some of them positively wrong. How far this is true, and how far it is an exaggeration, I do not feel disposed particularly to inquire. Certain it is, on the one hand, (and if my readers are disposed to consider it a compliment to the Anglian family I have no objections to let it go as such) that both branches of it, English and American, have always been, and still are, very much in the habit of making the same objection to most other nations. It used to be a standing complaint by the English against the Scotch, (see Macauley *passim*;) it still is against the Portuguese, Italians, Austrians, Poles, Russians and others, "too numerous to mention." Certain it is, also, on the other hand, that though there is a considerable amount of truth in the charge, when applied to the Chinese as a body, it is far from being applicable to all of them individually, as any one may see by observing those of them he meets in passing along the streets, whether on a Sabbath or a week day. But be that as it may, the question still recurs : Is this, after all, a matter of sufficient importance to justify us in cutting off all communication with them ? or is it not one that could be set right by a little patience, a little kindly teaching, and the enforcement of reasonable police regulations ? The Chinese are not an unalterable, unteachable set, like our Indians ; on the contrary, though in some things wherein they differ from us, notably in the position and treatment they assign to women, they have to be taught to conform to our standard, yet with the pliancy and docility which forms so large a part of their characters, there is no reason to apprehend that they would prove difficult scholars, provided only the lesson be set them *not* in a way calculated to rouse the indignation of any one calling himself a man.

I have reckoned the above the last objection that I had to consider, because the allegation that they are incapable of assimilating with

us is rather a general summing up of all that is brought against them, than a particular charge. In so far, however, as it means specially an incapacity to unite with us, so far as either to form a homogeneous *race*, or a homogeneous *nation*, (two very different things) physiology, ethnology and history may be able to tell us something about it. Let us see, as briefly as possible, what it amounts to.

Physiology tells us that the progeny of two individuals of the same species will, as a general rule, combine the characteristics of its parents, with a constant tendency, however, in the course of generations, to revert to the type of one parent or the other. In this way, (it tells us) by careful selection of parents to breed from, we may impart to plants and animals under our charge almost any character we please, within the limits of the type, and may greatly improve the breed as a whole. Promiscuous hybridation will not do this, but will merely produce a mixed race, certainly no better than the average of the parent races, if these are well adapted for mingling, and likely to be worse if they are ill suited. Moreover, as it is generally the result of neglect, the offspring in such cases is apt to be neglected also, and to deteriorate in consequence. So far physiology.

Ethnology tells us that all the different races of mankind are of the same species, though it is not quite sure whether they all come from the same original parents, or whether, like the animals, they have had different centres of creation; this much is certain, that the progeny of any two of the races is capable of continuing itself. But they are not all equally suited for mingling; thus the progeny of the dark skinned nations of Europe, (Spaniards, Italians, &c.) and of the negro is healthy and strong, while that of the blonde families with the same is weak and sickly. Moreover, the inclination to amalgamate is much in the same ratio; thus, while in Brazil the pure whites form certainly a minority, and the pure blacks probably the same, in our own country the mixed race forms less than two per cent. of the whole population, and not much over eleven per cent. of the colored part of it. The Indian race appears to unite about equally well, or rather equally ill, with either section of the Caucasian, perhaps, of the two, rather better with the blonde than with the dark skinned families, but badly with either, retaining, even in the cross, very much of the incapacity for improvement which is its chief characteristic. How the Mongol race would unite with any of the others, ethnology cannot tell us, having had almost no opportunity of observing. A glance at the map will show that, except between the south end of the Uralian chain and the north end of the Caspian Sea, they are everywhere cut off from anything like free communication with the other races, by high mountain chains, by the ocean, and in part by their own well maintained exclusiveness; though I remark, in passing, that in China access is jealously denied only to Europeans. The Mahometans of Western Asia come

and go with very little notice. There is, indeed, one instance of a Mongol tribe mixing its blood pretty extensively with the Caucasian, which may serve as presumptive proof in favor of the mixed race being at least better than many others. I speak of the Turks, who have for the last five or six hundred years been in very close contact with Europe. But, on the other hand, there are so many circumstances to be taken into account as modifications, that any conclusions we might draw from it become very indefinite. In the first place, the Turks, one of the westernmost Mongol tribes, differed originally from the easternmost of them, the Chinese, (with whom alone we are much concerned) at least as much as the English do from the Russians. Secondly, they were from the beginning of their career, and still are, though to a less extent, so much in the habit of receiving into their body Caucasians of their own faith, mostly Georgian or Circassian slaves, who, after a generation or two, became indistinguishable, that, in Europe at least, it would be very difficult to estimate what the amount of the Mongol element may be. And lastly, the fusion has always been confined to the marriage of Turkish men with foreign women, except in the case of the adopted foreigners just mentioned, who alone might intermarry with Turkish women; and the blood connection of these foreigners with ourselves, by race, is probably still more distant than that of the Turks with the Chinese. From all these circumstances, the case just cited gives us but little instruction, and the few individual instances which might doubtless be found in Singapore and Hongkong are on much too limited a scale to furnish inductions of the slightest value. And so far ethnology.

Summing up then what these two tell us, it seems only to amount to this: that if our family had fused to any considerable extent with the negro race, the white husband honoring and caring for his black wife and children as he now does for his white ones, it is difficult to see why a mixed race should not have resulted, combining in a measure the superior intelligence and industry of the white with the immunity from tropical epidemics possessed by the blacks; that as to the prospect of a fusion between the Chinese and ourselves, or the capabilities of the mixed race that would result, no judgment of any value can be formed for want of sufficient data; but that, until a great change takes place in our psychical organization, both Chinese and negroes may live among us for centuries, without any important amount of amalgamation taking place at all.

What does history say on the subject? Very little; ancient history nothing. Down to the discovery of America, only different families of the same race had come in contact with each other; individual negroes were not unknown in Rome, brought there through Egypt; but, as races, history records no extensive contact of the Caucasian with either Negro, Mongol, Malay or American Indian, up to the pe-

riod mentioned. Since then, two great divisions of the Caucasian race, the Iberian, (Spanish and Portuguese) and the Anglian, have come pretty largely in contact with the Negro and Indian races ; the Batavian, to a much smaller extent, with the Negro and Malay. In Brazil, the Portuguese and Negro have amalgamated to a considerable extent ; and the two races seem to get along very well together, the white race of course retaining by far the foremost place, yet not refusing or grudging to the black such honor and emolument as his capabilities enable him to attain to. If he has talent and opportunity, there is nothing to prevent him from becoming a surgeon, a lawyer, or a merchant—I have known several such, black or very dark mulatto—and he will be treated socially by his white as well as by his colored fellow-citizens just according to his character and success. With the Indians they have hardly mixed at all, except to a slight extent on their Spanish frontiers. The Spaniards, on the contrary, while they have not amalgamated much with the Negro, have mixed to a considerable extent with the Indians, and the cross seems to be a poor one ; yet up to about the time when America was discovered, Spain had more skillful soldiers, profounder statesmen, and a more intelligently free population than England had. Mexico and Paraguay, as they are the completest specimens of the white and red races amalgamated, so they are the very poorest samples of Spanish America. Of the Anglian family, the English branch has not come a great deal into contact with the red race, their settlements at Belize being too insignificant to notice, while Canada was already settled to a considerable extent by another white race before they took it ; no considerable amalgamation has taken place that I know of ; that of the Red river settlements is perhaps the principal example, and not an unfavorable one. With the black they came in contact in the West India Islands in the same way as the Spanish and Portuguese did, by their being brought thither in large numbers as slaves ; and having now shaken off that curse, and got through the revolution which must necessarily accompany so momentous a change, they also, like the Brazilians, have coalesced into a not inharmonious compound, the whites of course doing the bulk of the governing, and other skilled work of the community. The Island of Jamaica is now the only one that has not quite got over the shake of emancipation, which is natural, as it was the largest and had the greatest complexity of interests ; but there also things are settling down. All the others have attained a higher degree of prosperity than during any period of slavery.

Another sample, unique in its character, of the contact of races,—or of families so remote that the case is nearly equivalent,—may be noticed here as illustrative of the danger which will always result from the governing race retaining too exclusive a hold of power, and keeping themselves isolated from the inferior one. I allude of course to

the conquest of the Hindoos by an English Trading Company, ending, a couple of years ago, in such a wrench, that if they had not been, man and woman of them, of the genuine old mastiff breed which holds on till the head is cut off, they would have been shaken out as sure as fate. If the spirit of the old Danish sea kings, that kept them from giving up the ship while a plank of her would float them, has carried them triumphantly through this danger, we may also hope that the sagacity of the Saxon Wittenagemote has suggested to them the surest plan of avoiding a recurrence of it, by giving breadth and level to the basis of their intercourse. Hindostan is now a British colony, governed by its own laws, and intercourse with it is as unfettered as with Canada.

The other branch of the Anglian family, that is, the American, has come very much into contact with the Indian race, and where is that gone? It has also come considerably in contact with the Negro, but under very unfavorable circumstances. In one part of our country they are politically disqualified, indeed not acknowledged by the law as men; in another part, by a singular prejudice of recent origin, and not existing elsewhere, they are socially disfranchised. Under these circumstances, little amalgamation was to be expected; and what does take place being mostly illegitimate, the moral character of the offspring at least cannot be expected to be high. Yet notwithstanding all the above disadvantages, we see that in climates where the Indian is aboriginal, and the Negro a stranger of at most a few generations back, in a condition of society where the Indian is free and the Negro a slave, still the former dies out and the latter increases his numbers.

So far, then, the teaching of history seems to be, that some races are more fitted for intercourse than others; that wherever intercourse takes place extensively, it ought to be on a footing of equal rights, leaving each individual free to reach such station and such respect from society, as his gifts enable him to attain to; and that in such case, without discontent on the part of the lower race, and without waste of faculties suited for the service of the community, the higher race will certainly be the governing one upon the whole. The unbending, unadaptable Indian, can only maintain himself, like the Araucano or the Coroad, in fiercely guarded isolation, or die out; the supple Negro bends himself to his lot, and lives and multiplies. If made a slave of, he fights force with fraud and laziness, punishes robbery by theft and waste, and not daring to speak truth, becomes an accomplished liar. On the other hand, if treated like a man, the affectionate, childlike nature which seems inherent in the race, makes him invaluable for all kinds of service and small labor, whilst a certain not unamusing spice of vanity in his composition, analogous to the ambition of the higher race, seems to produce in him the same result. With respect to the Mongolian race, though we have less of the teach-

ings of experience to guide us, inasmuch as they have never lived extensively among Caucasians nor the latter among them, (at least, not until very recently) still, a slight glance at their history may suggest to us some considerations worth attending to in making up our minds about their intercourse with us.

Besides ourselves, they alone have been a conquering race in the world. In the twelfth century, under the master minds of Genghis and his successors, the Kirghis, Calmucs and other tribes, from the north of China to the Caspian, were hurled upon Russia, which they held for nearly four centuries, being only driven out at last after a prolonged and desperate struggle. In 1398, under Timour, the same and some other western tribes, passing the tremendous barrier of the Hindoo Koosh, descended like an avalanche on the Indus; and about a century later, his descendant, Baber, established a dynasty in the valley of the Ganges, which may almost be said to have been formally extinguished only about eighteen months ago; nor is Timour's name yet forgotten among the tribes north of China and Thibet. About the year 900, the Magyars, a far northwestern tribe, swept down, like a charge of light cavalry, upon the valley of the Theiss and the Danube, where they have ever since held their own, both against Czar and Kaiser. Lastly, in 1453, the Turks, after sweeping before them the remains of Grecian civilization in Asia Minor, closed the long history of the Roman empire, by the capture of Constantinople; and a couple of hundred years later, were thundering at the gates of Vienna. The Chinese proper, it is true, took no part (so far as we know) in these expeditions of their congeners in race; yet they conquered, and still rule many of the tribes that did. But they have higher claims to our respect than those of military prowess. They are a civilized nation; they have been so for a very long time, and they are so to no inconsiderable extent. Nearly three thousand years ago,—before Solomon's temple was built; three or four hundred years before the Celts, the earliest of the races from whom our very mixed blood is drawn, left the Crimea to seek a home for themselves in the land that we claim as our parent hive, the Chinese had organized and established a political system which has been found sufficient to secure the blessings of a civilized life to a third part of the whole human race, until this day. When our system, superior as we may think it, and as it undoubtedly is, shall have done as much, we shall have something to boast of that we certainly have not now. I have already alluded to an institution amongst them, their unions or companies, which I proposed then to notice further on. That notice will come in well here.

With the exception of a few who came here from Shanghai, and of whom very few indeed remain, all the Chinese in this country are from the province of Canton, and mostly from the districts on the sea board of that province. This division of their country into districts

seems to have facilitated the formation of these companies, and in part to have determined the basis of them, though not their existence, for they are not a new institution. In Borneo, these companies form trading guilds, or partnerships, which undertake, under contract with the government, the working of the mines in a certain district, for instance, or other similar enterprises. Here they have scarcely anything of this character; nothing further than this, that they are occasionally employed as agencies for the collection of debts due in China, or in the interior of this State. Their proper character is something between a club and a benefit society. They were originally, for the most part, formed of persons from the same or neighboring districts; thus one is called The Company of the Four Districts, its members having been at first altogether from four neighboring districts near the city of Canton, though others have been admitted since; another is The Company of the Three Districts, from a similar cause; there are five in all. Membership is in no way compulsory, not even by public opinion, but the convenience is so great that there are scarcely a thousand persons out of the whole number of Chinese in this country who do not belong to one or other of them. Their convenience consists in their forming a ready rendezvous, by means of which new arrivals from China, or others returning from the mines after a long absence, can at once obtain information about their friends and relations, or have an opportunity of forming connections which are mutually useful, in the way of getting help or employment. At the same time, they do not confine their services wholly to their members who pay; the sick and the indigent find in them a temporary shelter and attendance, with the means of cooking, though they must procure the food to be cooked from private benevolence, if entirely without funds. Now a people capable of forming, governing and sustaining such institutions as these for generations, as the Chinese have done, leaving out of view for the present their long-descended municipal and political organization, is not lightly to be set down as incapable of using political and social privileges aright.

No! it is much too easily taken for granted that the Chinese are incapable of assimilating with us. It is a pure assumption, wholly unsupported by any facts, and rather opposed than otherwise to *a priori* reasoning. That they have shown little or no disposition to assimilate hitherto, is the perfectly natural result of the treatment they have hitherto received. Under favorable circumstances it would probably require a generation or two to bring about any very wide spread change in them; under such circumstances as we have thrown around them, they might live amongst us to the "crack of doom" without feeling any desire for it. What, after all, is the difference between us and these despised dwellers in our land? Their institutions are different, you say. True; they were determined by a

different chain of causes, and formed under different circumstances from ours, but the faculties which formed ours were the same which formed theirs, and the fact that they have such institutions proves the possession of the faculties in a degree quite sufficient to apprehend and appreciate ours, as soon as the new circumstances are apprehended. Neither Negro, Malay, nor American Indian has, or ever has had, institutions perfected to a similar degree; only the Caucasian and the Mongolian. Nay, if we even descend to more minute particulars, points are not wanting in which their system will contrast favorably with others. Thus they, like ourselves, have no hereditary nobility, and no class which claims a prescriptive title to office; the service of the State is open to all who have the talent, and the cultivation of that talent, required for it. It may well be that herein they have a better preparation for becoming American citizens than many an honest Prussian or Dane, whom, nevertheless, we find to be not undesirable acquisitions. And,—to recall another remark which I made before, that however much we may prefer our own institutions, it will be strange if we do not find in those of any other civilized nation something which we might advantageously adopt,—it is a part of their system that careful provision is both made and enforced for securing that those who are called to the service of the State shall be qualified for that service, in so far as the possession of the best knowledge attainable among them is a qualification, by a system of examinations, which become more rigorous and of greater scope in proportion as the office to be filled is of more importance. Were anything at all resembling or analagous to this adopted among ourselves, it seems probable to me that we should have fewer laws passed by our Legislatures one session, only to be repealed the next; fewer representatives at foreign courts who make our country the laughing stock of the world; and fewer Judges on the bench more skilled in the flavors of intoxicating liquors than in the first principles of jurisprudence.

I hope none of my readers will so far misunderstand me as to conceive that I mean to represent the Chinese as being, on the average, equal to ourselves. I am satisfied they are not; at the same time, I must repeat, that the inequality of conditions or attainments among its members is not what ruins a State, but inequality of rights; and I believe I have shown a fair presumption that the Chinese are far from being so decidedly inferior as to present no prospect of ever forming a useful part of our population. It is at least worth while to give them a fair trial, which they have never yet had; whether they shall have one now or not depends on our own choice. If we choose that they shall continue debarred from social intercourse, divested of all political rights and privileges, then no doubt they will remain far below their just and natural level, and we must just make up our

minds to bear the consequences. Let us at least have the common sense to do it without grumbling; we certainly have no right to complain, whatever the Chinese may have. But if, on the other hand, we choose to treat them as fellow men, and allow them such privileges, social and political, as their individual attainments may entitle them to, then we need not have the least fear but that, whether they ever rise to our level or not, they will at least develop, advantageously and fairly, whatever capabilities they possess; and whether they ever amalgamate with us or not in the way of a fusion of blood, (respecting which we have, I would repeat, no sufficient data to found a judgment upon) at all events there will be nothing to hinder their amalgamating so far as to reside in our midst peaceably, contentedly and usefully; looking up to us with esteem as well as respect, improving by their contact with us, and no longer offensive in ours with them.

It will be abundantly apparent, from the preceding, that I should be strongly opposed to our hindering the Chinese from coming here, even if it were in our power; but the subject of the treatment they are to receive, the place they are to occupy, and, consequently, the influence *they are to exercise upon us*, becomes a more serious one when we consider that, on this point, we cannot help ourselves. As citizens of California it is not competent for us to forbid them. Directly, it has been authoritatively declared wholly incompatible with that provision of the U. S. Constitution which reserves to Congress the power of regulating commerce, so that to ask our Legislatures, as was done a month or two ago, to find some constitutional way of excluding them, is about as rational and sensible as asking them to find some honest mode of stealing, or some sober plan of getting drunk. But if we cannot directly hinder them from coming, can we not lay such burdens and restrictions upon them after they do come as shall make it not worth their while to stop? This also has been tried, with no very great success as yet. It was attempted to levy a tax of \$50 a head upon their introduction into the country, but on a suit brought by the Commissioner of Emigrants against the ship "Stephen Baldwin," which three other ships joined in defending, the law was decided to be unconstitutional, and the Chinese were placed exactly on the same footing with other foreigners. Yet taxes, considerably onerous in amount, are still levied upon them in the mines, which, if exigible, are certainly not exacted from other foreigners, and the constitutionality of which is at least doubtful. I do not anticipate any trouble from the Chinese themselves in regard to this matter, but it is by no means a thing inconceivable, nor yet wholly unknown in the experience of California, that some smart lawyer may catch the idea, and, in their name, for his own benefit principally, get up a batch of claims against some of our county officials for back taxes, that they will not thank him for.

I am aware, indeed, that the Naturalization Law of the United States provides that any free *white* male alien may become a citizen on certain terms therein stated. But the Constitution neither makes, nor even hints at, any such limitation, for which reason, as I before observed, Massachusetts, and I believe also Connecticut and a few other States, quietly ignore it. Moreover, the Naturalization Laws have no application to colored persons born in the country, who, by the common law, which rules in the absence of statute law, would have a full and perfect claim to all the rights of citizenship. Further, it is wholly opposed to the spirit, at least, of American legislation, that a distinction should be made between class and class in regard to public burdens or disabilities, and in my view not less opposed to Sec. 11, Art. I of our own Constitution, which provides that "All laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation." For all these reasons, I consider that, if the Federal Constitution is such a restraint upon our State sovereignty as to deprive us of the right of excluding them, it may with equal propriety be invoked to abrogate our legal restrictions upon their natural demand to vote and hold office; or, at all events, that only a change in public opinion is required to make it so.

But there is another consideration that calls for attention in connection with this plan of petty persecution. It might rid us pretty soon of the good ones, but it would be a long time in ridding us of the prostitutes and bad characters among them. Should we gain much by that? What do the latter care for the law? Their life is passed in defying or evading it. What is public opinion to them? Their public consists of the abandoned drunkards and debauchees who consort with them. And let it not be thought that people of that class are short-lived; they will soon die out. Such women are cheap in China, and their passage does not cost much; as long as there is a demand for them the supply will be kept up. But the respectable merchant and the industrious laborer, the man of capital and intelligence, probity and skill, willing to live in obedience to the laws, and looking to them for protection, these we should effectually get rid of. We have already had one sample of this; it would be a pity to repeat it. Shortly before the Fraser River excitement, some of my readers may yet remember that several of our black population, indignant at the law which prevented them from testifying in our Courts, left this city for Vancouver's Island, where they were well received and have become useful members of the community. On that occasion not a single one of the dance house keepers, harlots or other pestilential characters who infest the neighborhood of Pacific and Dupont streets left; it was a matter of exceedingly small moment to them that they were debarred from giving testimony; no man would have believed theirs, if they had been ever so free to give it. The emigration con-

sisted wholly of small mechanics, and others of a similar class, who brought up their families by honest labor, had saved a little money, and aspired to a position and a treatment which our prejudices forbid their enjoying. Each of such men was worth a score of white rowdies, loafers, lobby members and log-rollers, and such were all the men we lost.

There is another consideration which calls for our attention in regard to excluding them, whether directly, by prohibition, or indirectly, by onerous exactions and deprivation of privileges. We have concluded a treaty with China, by virtue whereof we insist upon entering their country, residing there in freedom, and trading with them on certain known and established conditions ; nay more, if my memory serves me rightly, we insist upon it that in many cases, if not in all, any infractions of the laws of the country by our citizens shall be judged by our authorities, not by theirs. With what face, then, can we pretend to tell them, that though we intend to go to their country, and enter it, if need be, at the cannon's mouth, yet we will not permit them to come to ours ? that, though we claim the privilege of not only entering their country, but of residing and trading there, on terms, practically, of our own dictating, and are prepared to punish any molestation of our citizens, whether from the populace or the authorities, by rifle and revolver if necessary, yet, if we cannot prevent them from coming to our country, we will at least make their life bitter with onerous and invidious taxes, not levied on other foreigners ? and lastly, that while we will not permit their magistrates, in their own country, so much as to inquire into the guilt or innocence, of our citizens, who may be accused of crime, yet if the Chinese come to our country, we will deprive them in a great measure even of such protection as our Courts of law might give, whether from the outrages of a lawless rabble or of brutal individuals,—not at all unknown in this land of civilization,—by refusing so much as to listen to their testimony, however respectable, however worthy of credence they may be ? We seem to have forgotten that God governs the world according to his own laws, not ours ; and that moral truth,—right, “is the substance that nations feed on,” while wrong is the virulent poison that courses through their veins in fever, or strikes them down in deadly palsy. I do not remember having seen the terms of the treaty, and do not know where I could refer to them now, consequently am not prepared to say whether or not its stipulations (which would override any State law we might make) would render our acts of oppression and barbarity upon the Chinese illegal. But I am certain that no man of ordinary right feeling would say that such action is fair towards the Chinese, and honorable to us ; nor can we look for any respect from foreign nations while we continue in it, for it is not power, but justice and generosity, which procure respect for nations, as for

individuals. If, therefore, we are determined to persist in it, let us at least, for very shame, burn our treaty and leave the Chinese alone in their own country, since we will not allow them to come in peace to ours.

If we cast a glance on the map of the world, we shall notice a marked difference between the position of America and that of any other civilized land, in regard to its intercourse with other nations. In America itself, the most civilized race in the world, and the most advanced family of that race, has come into the closest possible contact with one of the least civilized, and, what has still more bearing on the subject, one of the least civilizable divisions of mankind. The Papuan, Australian and Bushman negro is doubtless in a lower social position than the Red Indian; but all the other divisions of the negro race are not only further advanced, they also show greater capabilities of advancement. Our Atlantic coast is almost equally within the reach of the highest degree of civilization and a very low degree of barbarism. It is nearly as far from New York to Liverpool, Havre or Lisbon, as from Charleston to Sierra Leone and the Gulf of Guinea. Here on the Pacific coast, again, (not to mention Kanakas and other Malays, of whom we see very few) we are in contact with the two extremes of civilization, and the overflow of the restless, eager progress of the Caucasian race is brought, in our very midst, into violent contrast with the imperturbable, grave, unhasting, though industrious civilization of the far East, which is to us the West. Compare this with Europe, and the most unreflecting mind must be struck with the difference. There we see no centre of civilization from which any sudden remove can be made into barbarism; everywhere we find a gradual shading off, and the centre is everywhere. Constantinople receives visitors from Beloochistan and Soudan, but to reach these you must pass through Asia Minor, Syria and Persia, on the one hand, or Egypt on the other; Moscow has intercourse with the Tartar and the Finn, but they must reach it through Astracan or St. Petersburg. England is nowhere in contact with barbarism, except in the persons of such of her sons as go to seek it, and they go to all parts of the world, civilized as well as barbarous. The few Lascars, Armenians and Negroes who find their way to London, are not sufficient in number to give one in a hundred of the population any idea what a foreigner looks like. The different degrees of civilization are to be looked for there, not in distinct races or nationalities, but in diverse stations of society. It may perhaps be in some degree owing to this that far more stress is laid on the distinction of races with us than in any other part of the world, and that appears to be natural and proper here which elsewhere is seen to be unnatural and monstrous; but whatever be the cause, the result is much to be deplored. We have been led into the adoption of a false principle, which is partially seen

to be false, and hence a conflict, not only between us and the inferior races whom we oppress, but between those of ourselves who, seeing the principle to be false, denounce and oppose it, and those who, not recognizing its falsehood, are inclined to maintain it. More or less, it prevails all over our country; in some places, happily, amounting only to a feeling of repugnance, which, as it is of comparatively recent origin, may not improbably pass away again, as further acquaintance demonstrates its want of foundation and its unkindness; in other parts, showing itself as the extreme of injustice, maintained by legal enactments, as well as by public opinion, and passing now and then, in individual cases, into the extreme of cruelty. The evil is immeasurably heightened by the circumstance that the oppressed race is not a mere handful, whose wrongs can never come to the knowledge of more than a few, but themselves form a large proportion of our population. Under these circumstances we need not consider it strange if the divergence of feelings and views engendered between the two sections by the immense difference in the life-training and education which the difference in the constitution of the two societies renders unavoidable, has become so great as to introduce a constantly increasing discord into our national councils, and even seriously to threaten our unity as a nation. To stifle the expression of this feeling is out of the question; to compromise in a mixed course of action upon it is equally hopeless, since men may give up material interests, but moral principles will not allow themselves to be silenced or abandoned; to come to an agreement upon it by full and free discussion *may* be impossible; (though I hope not yet) but if so, then no other course is open to us but to agree to differ, and take separate and independent paths,—there is not the slightest reason why they should lead the different sections into hostility or collision. In California, public opinion has not yet positively declared itself; our society is still in a state of fusion, not yet cooled down into a formulated and case-hardened creed, on this more than on many other subjects. There is still hope of being able to convince the public mind by argument, and this is the principal consideration that has induced me to offer this plea for the oppressed and the down-trodden. Would to God my feeble words could have power to make my fellow citizens reflect that the difference between the Englishman and the Russian, the Russian and the Chinese, the Chinese and the Negro, is one of degree, not of kind; that to draw a line anywhere between them is to make a wholly unfounded distinction. Let us give to each individual the treatment to which his character, his conduct and his attainments entitle him, but let us never forget that they are all of them men, endowed with like capabilities, like faculties, like feelings with ourselves. Let us make a beginning, by restoring to them at once the right of testimony, and leave it to our juries to judge of the value of that testimony, just

as they do now. Let us remove all taxes and disabilities which are distinctive as between alien and alien, and therefore invidious. Finally, let us bring our State Constitution once more into accordance with the glorious Declaration of Independence, to which we so often and so proudly appeal, yet which our fathers would have thought a monstrous abortion if it had contained any such clause as "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all *white* men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," &c. Then may we justly hope for peace as well as prosperity within our borders; then may we truly boast that we are in the van of the world's progress, a refuge for the oppressed of every land; then may we hold up our heads erect before the world, nor blush, when our glorious fathers' names are praised, to be pointed at as the sons of such sires.

In all that I have said hitherto, I have considered the question solely on the ground of natural right and justice, but I should present a view of the subject, incomplete in a most important particular, if I did not recall to the minds of my readers that there is another law which also has its precepts in regard to it, and that law one which boasts even a higher sanction: I mean the law of love. I have spoken mostly of what we ought not to do to the Chinese, but we have positive as well as negative duties towards them. The most of us call ourselves Christians, and moreover, setting apart that I do not use the word either in its technical sense, as meaning professors of religion, or in its theological sense, as meaning those who believe certain dogmas and historical facts not received as true by Jews or Moslems, I believe the duties that I speak of would be acknowledged by all right-thinking men, even if some of them might reject the appellation.

Now the grand, salient characteristic of our Saviour, as of the religion which he came to teach, was beyond question unselfish, all-embracing love. This is the burden of his whole teaching, in command, in parable, and above all in example. It is strenuously inculcated by all his followers who have left any record behind them; it is very congenial to the teachings of the best of those who, even in the comparatively dark ages before his appearing on earth, spake as they were moved by his spirit. Thus Isaiah indignantly says to the selfish, exclusive Jews of his time: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?" And again, in rapt vision, which yet we surely believe will in due time become a sober reality, he exclaims: "And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and *all*

*nations* shall flow into it. And *many people* shall go and say, come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob ; and he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people ; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks ; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The first teaching on record vouchsafed to the apostles after our Lord's ascension, is that remarkable vision to Peter, of the sheet let down from heaven, the meaning of which, as he himself tells us, was that "Of a truth God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." Paul, in his sublime address to the men of Athens, in contradiction to their arrogant notion that they were *autochthones*, (born of their own land) tells them that "God that made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." In numberless passages he tells us that in "the image of Him that created him, there is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free ; but Christ is all and in all," and some of his most prominent exhortations are, "Owe no man anything but to love one another;" "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves;" "Bear ye one another's burdens;" "As we have opportunity let us do good unto all men." Lastly, our Saviour's own teachings on the subject are as plain and distinct as words can be : "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you ; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven ; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." If there are any on whom our Father does not make his sun to rise, or send down his kindly rain, then these may perhaps be excepted from our loving care ; but surely, if we do not extend it to all to whom he extends it, we are not perfect as he is perfect.

Natural conscience is enough to tell us it is wrong that the strong man should use his strength to oppress and injure his weaker neighbor, that the wise man should use his knowledge to delude and cheat him. Its teaching is negative. That of Christianity, as I observed above, is positive, and has in this all the advantage that the positive always has over the negative ; it speaks to the intellect more directly, and influences the feelings more powerfully. It tells us that the strong man must use his strength to defend and protect the weak ; that wisdom is given to the wise man in order that he may therewith govern, that is, direct and guide the ignorant ; that the great end of purity and love is, to attract the depraved, to awaken within them the divine nature which has so long been laid to sleep,

and thus lead them back to God. Hence it is our bounden duty to extend help to the poor, to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the wayward and the sinful; nor can any man say, without guilt, "It is none of my business," or withdraw his hand from the great work of the world that is everywhere around us, pressing to be done. But if I am not at liberty to shut my heart and hand against my neighbor because his manners are rude and his habits offensive, or because he is sick, or poor, or even because he is depraved, vile and abandoned, surely I am not at liberty to do so because he is a Chinaman, and differs from me in race. If I may not without guilt ignore his existence and withdraw myself from all intercourse with him, or deny him reasonable opportunity of access to me in the one case, neither can I in the other. The only question to me is,—What opportunity have I, or can I procure, of doing him good? When the opportunity presents itself, woe to me if I embrace it not, and surely a deeper woe if I cut him off from any chance of its existence.

As with individuals, and with regard to individuals, so with nations and with regard to nations,—so also with races and with regard to races; for God has not given one moral law applicable to men in their individual, and another in their collective capacity. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—"all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." These great laws apply to us universally, in every capacity, and in every relation. True, the mode of their application will be different, but the law is the same notwithstanding. It is not the duty of a State to seek out individuals who are in distress for the purpose of relieving them; but it is its duty to treat foreigners who come within its borders with fairness and kindness, and in all its relations with other States, within reasonable limits, to shape its policy towards them in such a way as shall most direct and encourage them in the way of right. No nation can commit an injustice, be the subject of it ever so defenceless, and reckon that it can safely brave or elude the enmity that it will thereby give rise to, for it makes an enemy of God as well as of man. More than that, any nation which pursues merely selfish ends, fighting its own battles and serving its own purposes, will look in vain for either respect or friendship. No more than the meanest individual can the mightiest empire elude the inexorable law, "With what measure ye mete it shall be meted to you again." This great moral law is beginning to be acknowledged by Christian communities, and even by nations, though as yet in a very imperfect way. France begins to talk about the *droits du travail*, the rights of labor, and in a capricious, now-and-then sort of style, to acknowledge them, while her *bureaux de bienfaisance* (boards of relief, we may translate it, though benefit societies would be as near the thing) have risen from the rank of private enterprises almost to that of a national institution. England,

for three centuries and a half, has had her poor laws, an acknowledgment *a la Bull* in a dim, blundering sort of way, by the old fellow's large, warm heart, that the poor must not be allowed to die like rotten sheep in a ditch at any rate, though his slow faculties seem not yet to have worked out the way to remedy it to his own satisfaction. We ourselves have acknowledged, on more than one recent occasion, that a great State is disgraced by using its strength tyrannically,—that it ought to be forbearing, and not overbearing, with its weaker neighbors. Let us carry out this magnanimous principle with regard to the poor Chinese, and we shall find that we shall lose nothing by it, in purse, in peace of mind or in reputation.

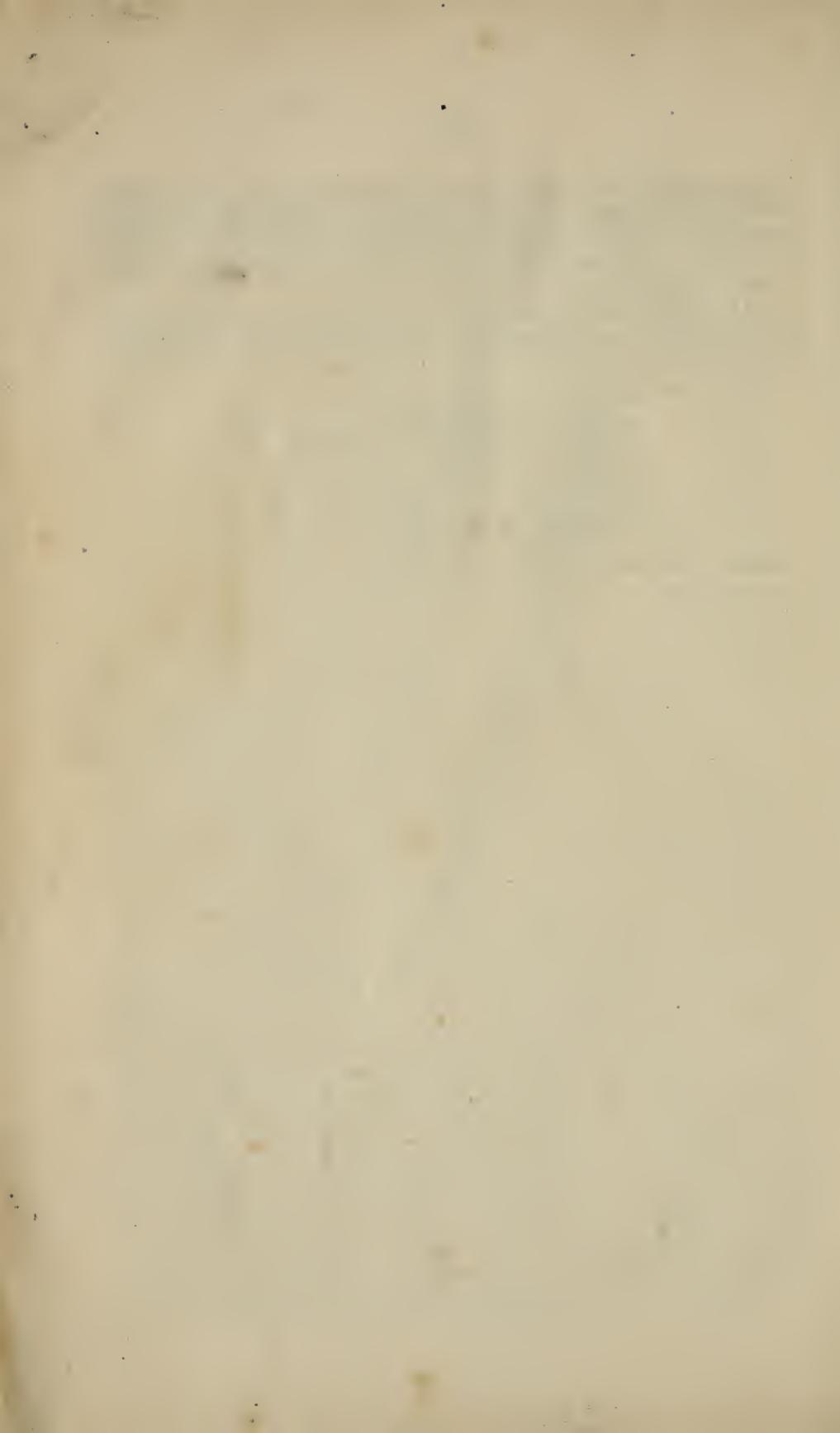
At some cost we send missionaries to China to spread among them the light of our purer religion, and we do well; but if this is all that we are going to do, it will certainly be said to us, as to the Pharisees of old, "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." For what is it to send out a missionary? We complain that the Chinese are offensive and filthy in their habits, diluted as that offensiveness is, when they come amongst us, by being (even at the worst) but a small fraction of a large city or country, and restrained by our police regulations; but we expect him and his wife to go into the midst of them alone, to spend their lives and bring up their family there. We complain of their strange manners, and tell them they cannot be admitted to social intercourse with us, because they are not capable of assimilating; but we expect him to toil on for years, or for life, uncheered by social intercourse with any but these despised barbarians. My friends, you cannot be Christians by proxy in that way; with such change as the circumstances create, his duty is your duty. If there is any call upon you to send him amongst them, then certainly you cannot without guilt tell them that they are not to come near you. If it his duty to seek intercourse with them, so that, by teaching and example, he may lead them to a purer and better life, then you will not be blameless if you refuse them your teaching and example also, when occasion offers for your doing so. Let me earnestly urge you to adopt this worthier course,—to give it at all events a fair trial. Convince these poor heathens, when they come amongst you, that, in the purer faith which you profess, there is life enough to make it an effective principle of action, by its begetting in you a kindlier regard and a kinder treatment. Show them that your civilization is of a higher grade than theirs, by making your laws a shield thrown around them for their careful protection, as well as a firm though not ungentle restraint upon those practices in which their less enlightened consciences make them an imperfect law to themselves. Let them feel that if you consider yourselves their superiors, you at the same time consider it the duty of superiors to bear and forbear with those who fall short of your standard. Be

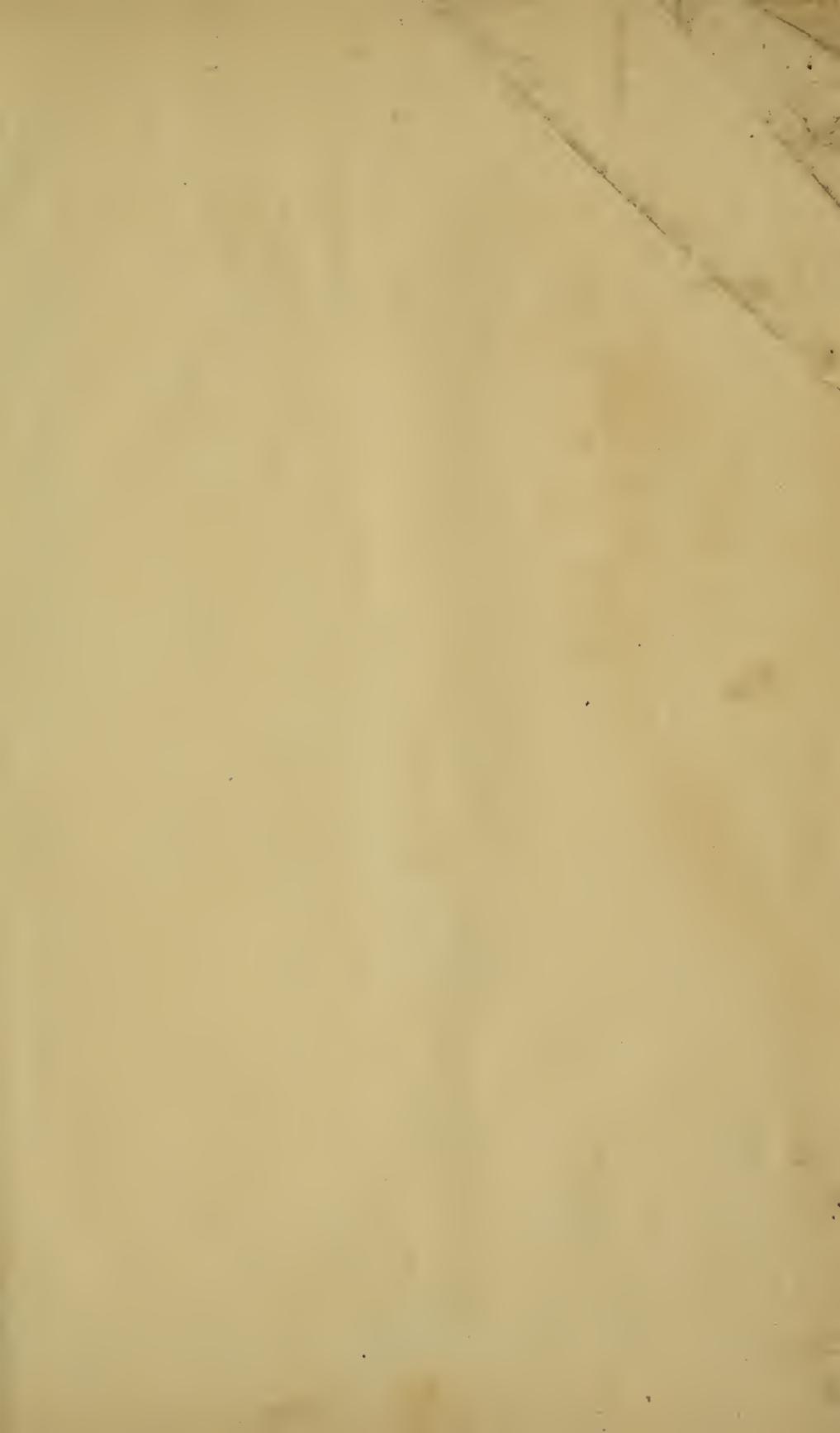
assured that kindness will be met with gratitude, that laws gently and fairly administered will be cheerfully submitted to, that what they perceive to be offensive to you will soon be corrected or laid aside, and that you will have gained willing brethren in those who are now at best but sullen aliens.

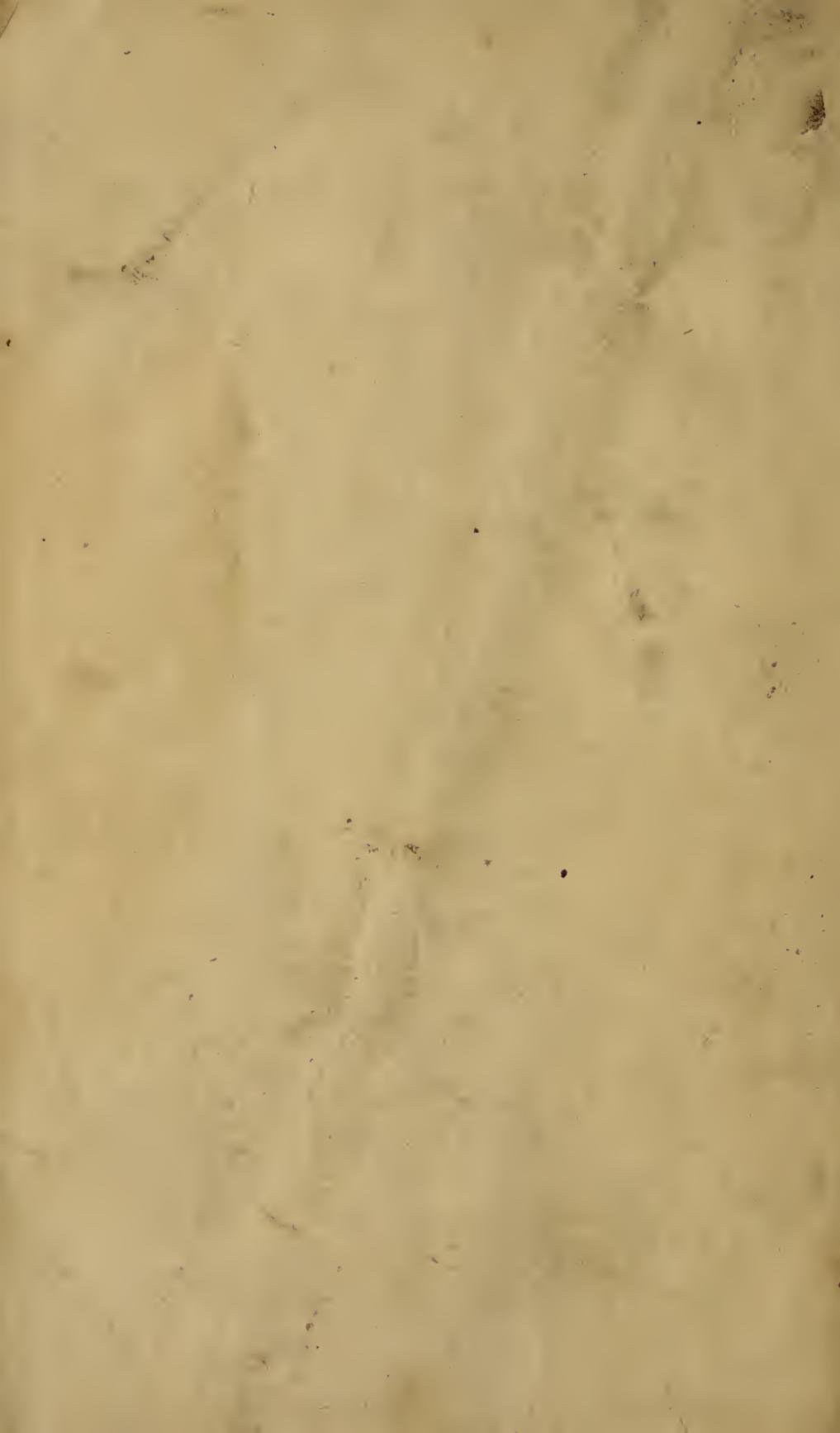
Let me close these remarks with a few lines from the noblest ode that I know of in any language ; it is in a foreign tongue, yet I think will not need translation :

“ Then let us pray that come it may,  
As come it will, for a’ that,  
When sense and worth, ower a’ the earth,  
Shall bear the gree, for a’ that.  
For a’ that an’ a’ that,  
It’s coming yet, for a’ that,  
When man to man, the wORLD round,  
Shall brithers be, for a’ that.”

Amen. God hasten his work to perform it.









THE

# CHINESE QUESTION

A N A L Y Z E D;

WITH

A FULL STATEMENT OF FACTS:

BY ONE WHO KNOWS THEM.

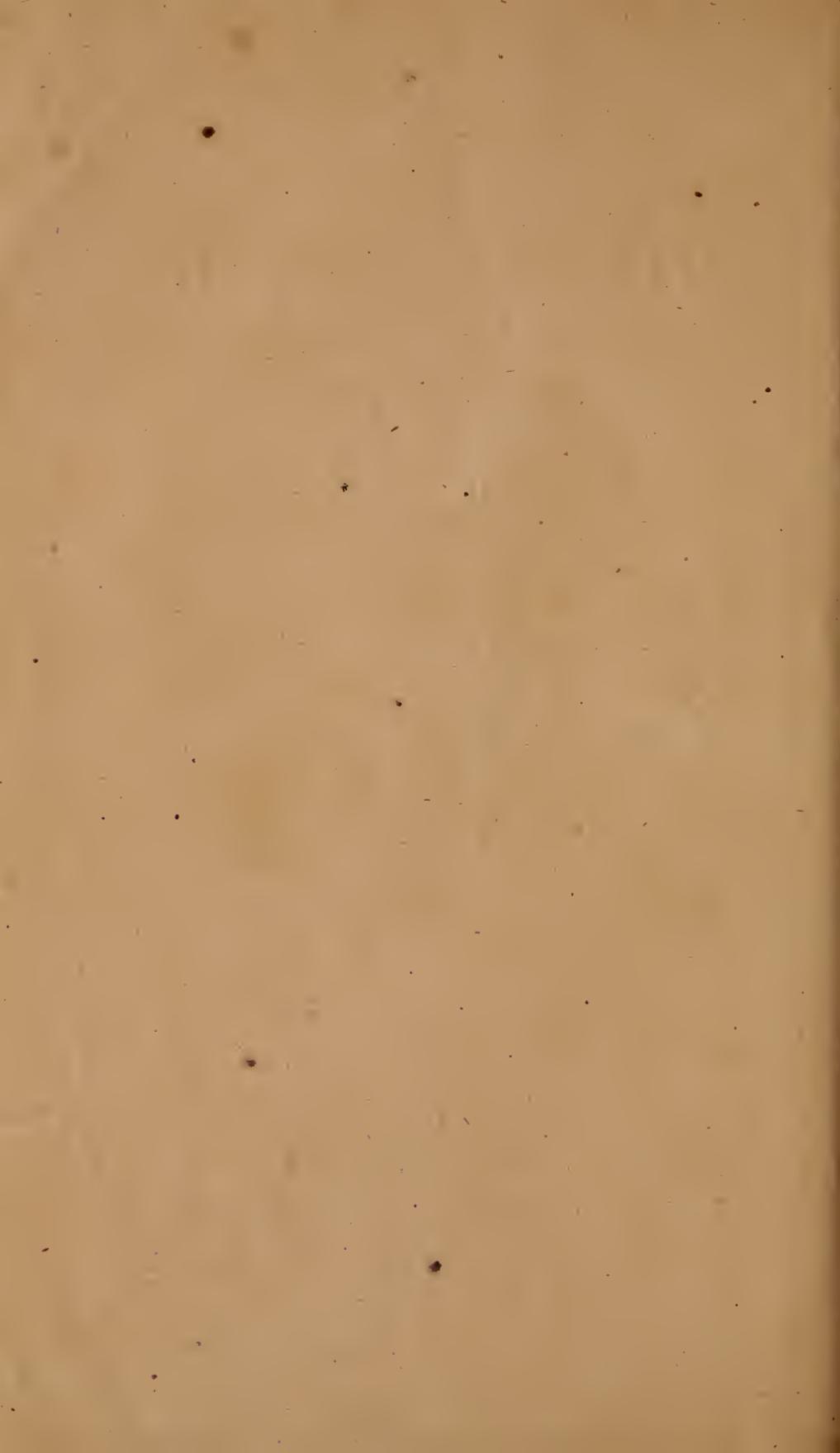
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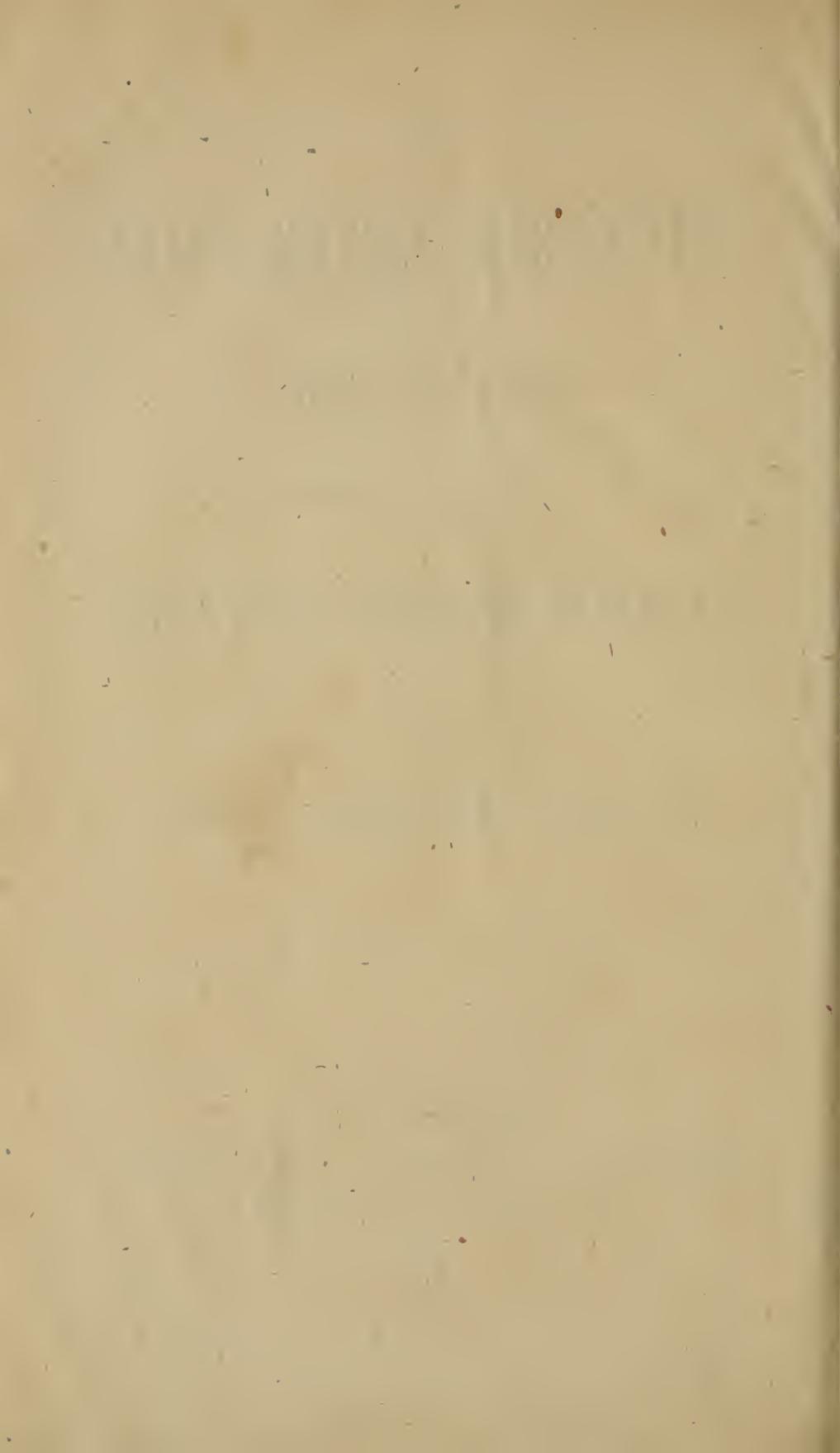
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1857.



## THE CHINESE QUESTION.

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Perhaps it may be considered that all that can be urged for or against Chinese Immigration has already been before the public. Admitting that such may be the case, that all the bearings may have been discussed, that all the arguments used may have been answered or proved unanswerable; still new combinations will occur in the pages of every fresh writer. One has happily drawn a parallel between such a process and the working of the kaleidoscope,—the same pieces of glass produce fresh figures by every shake,—so a new grouping of even old ideas may suggest different methods of dealing with the matter they refer to. We pretend to no higher aim than giving another shake to the subject, and so trying to bring into view phases suggestive of an improved line of policy.

Since the enactment of the Chinese Poll-tax the intensity of interest formerly felt has greatly abated, and might probably have continued to do so, notwithstanding the exaggerations of a portion of the periodical press, had it not been for the recent affair on the Buckland River. A word as to the exaggerations attributed to newspaper writers. We do not mean to assert that these are always intentional, or the result of incorrect information; but many second and third-rate papers, more particularly on the gold fields, have helped to foment the feeling against the Chinese by penny-a-liners' paragraphs, with such headings as—“The cry is still they come,” wherein the arrival of every drayload of Celestials is chronicled in the most magniloquent manner, leaving it to be understood that they are all new importations, but never by any chance alluding to those that take their departure. Even what is strictly true acquires an exaggerated importance, when counterbalancing facts are not stated. How much more, then, when it receives a warm-wash from a partisan editor, or a daub of verbosity from a patchy reporter.

But it needs no such incentives as this to induce a certain class of noisy people to raise a clamor about the "alarming invasion," "rapid increase," or "overwhelming inundation of Chinese." They find it a capital subject on which to ring the changes when their hearers get tired of the "Spoliation of their Lands," of the "Vulgar Insolence of Capitalists and Employers," of "Squatter Conspiracies," and of "The Eternal Rights of Labor." These frothy folks must have a bugbear of some kind on hand. It is necessary to their position. The social pot must be kept seething, otherwise the scum will not continue at the top. Luckily for the peace of the poor Chinamen the Land Bill at present engages nearly all their attention. Luckily for him, too, they have pretty hard work of it to sustain public interest with reference to it, otherwise we fear there might have been a second and third edition of the Buckland Raid at some of the smaller gold fields, where the valorous stump orators are particularly numerous, and the police force too small to frighten them.

Undoubtedly, however, we have to go still further to get at the root of the Chinese antipathy. Newspaper editors do not allow their paragraph columns to be filled with what would interfere with the sale of their paper; nor do stump orators roar themselves thirsty on a subject which will not fetch them a sympathizing nobbler. The same spirit that prefers the alternative of the waste lands laying utterly useless, to continuing in the hands of their present possessors—the same that says to the fellow-laborer at home, Starve where you are, you will interfere with my schemes if you come here—that threatens him on his arrival with vengeance if he takes employment under a figure that suits their idea, not his necessity—that debars the skilled workman from earning more than the tippling tyro—that even forces from him a portion of his wages to support the lazy loafer—the same spirit has a sustained under-current in all grades, and begrudges the Chinese stranger the gold which he extracts from old tailings and deserted holes.

At the threshold of the question, we are unavoidably convinced that many of the ultimate objections to Chinese are bound up with the arguments of the anti-immigration party. It is greatly to be deplored that the intensely selfish feeling (of which the existence of such a party is only a symptom) is but too general among the imperfectly educated classes of this colony, and that many who ought to wage war against it, do much, by their thought-

less bluster, to contribute to its increase. Although it is patent to the humblest capacity that our gold fields are practically inexhaustible, and that a population ten times as large as the present would barely settle the country, they join in the outcry against increased immigration; they make a grievance of the few thousand ounces exported by Chinamen, and swell the clamor against any further supply of labour. Is there nothing to improve—nothing to develop—that they would wish the living streams to cease flowing in on us? Have we reached the *ne plus ultra* of population, and will an increase only alter our state for the worse? Supposing our present branches of industry to be fully supplied, is there nothing for new comers to do? Does it add to our comfort or independence that our wool should circumnavigate the globe before it can be worn? That our hides should be converted into boots in England? That our tea, our tobacco, our wines and spirits, our sugar and rice, should be the growth of foreign countries, many of which as less fitted for their production than our own? Must we depend for our very bread upon neighbors, whom we affect to regard as distanced in the race of improvement? or are we to wait for the population that may ultimately do all this until the present clamourers are in a condition to employ? Must the country, and all possessed of more than *their* exact proportion of wealth, meanwhile come to a dead lock, and wait for the advance of these men to the condition of employers? Out upon such ridiculous ideas! We freely confess that did it come within our province to controvert the intelligence of the "intelligent public," we would be content to argue solely on their suicidal outcry against immigration. Apart from the debt of gratitude we owe to the mother country; apart from all fellow-feeling for the struggling thousands, from whom most of us have only a few years rescued ourselves, let the clamourer reflect, that every new arrival really *thrusts* him into a higher position, for, if the new comer be an operative, he is, while his equal in his trade, his inferior in colonial experience; if he be an employer he increases his choice and chance of employment. Supposing that the remuneration of labor should temporarily fall, the cost of production, and consequently the price of all necessaries, must fall in proportion. The smaller sum will eventually procure the same quantities as the larger.

Capital, under usual circumstances, will be found to increase in proportion to labour, but should the supply of labor lag behind the increase of capital, while both suffer, the weaker must

suffer most heavily. Capital will either be diverted into more distant enterprises, or, while hazarding its own existence upon rash and artificial speculations, it will inflict a direct present injury on the labor already in the colony, and an indirect one by the deprivation of external confidence.

We have been led further than we intended in analyzing the sources of the feeling against the Chinese, and, speaking of some of the means by which the flame of prejudice is fanned, let us now attempt to throw together, and to discuss the principal reasons urged against the admission, and for the expulsion of this portion of our population.

They are objected to :—

- (1.) As being aliens.
- (2.) As aliens of a kind who do not mix, but continue a foreign community in our midst.
- (3.) As being a continual source of apprehension.
- (4.) As doing nothing to forward the prosperity of the colony.
- (5.) As carrying away the produce of the country.
- (6.) As highly immoral.
- (7.) As likely to induce degeneracy of race by an intermixture of an inferior class.
- (8.) As obstructing, in various methods, the operations of European miners.

We will proceed to offer a few remarks on each of these.

First of all, as to the objection that they are aliens. What is an alien? If we take it to mean a stranger or a foreigner, such they most certainly are. By birth, however, we are all aliens to the territory of this particular colony. But if we can consider those only aliens who are not the natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, or have not been naturalized as such, then the assertion is only true to a degree. The fact seems to be overlooked, that nearly a quarter of a million of Chinese are fellow-subjects of the same empire; that the vitality of the important settlements of Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang, and Labuan depend in a great degree on their enterprise; and that no inconsiderable proportion of those now execrated as aliens on our gold fields came from those colonies. Nevertheless, let these facts be set on one side, and let it be granted that they are *all* aliens. If this alone be sufficient cause for their exclusion we give up their case at once; but let French, Spaniards, and Italians, Swiss, Germans, and Americans be simultaneously proceeded against. This argument for their expulsion would be stultified by its practical

adoption. Except under the most arbitrary tyrannies, no such sweeping measure was ever yet attempted. Aliens are frequently placed under special surveillance; never, however, treated with harshness, or summarily expelled, until they have proved themselves enemies of the State, or dangerous to the safety of society. King Mob's demand for their immediate expulsion reminds us of the expressed opinion of some old fashioned people, that there is a strong likeness between the government of that potentate, and the rule of the most capricious tyrants. We find, in the course they urge, an analogy to the persecutions of the Jews by the Plantagenets, of the Huguenots by the instruments of the Medici.\* But we cannot find a precedent in the practice of any State, whose example we would wish to see followed, to justify their persecution or expulsion, from the fact of their being aliens. Unless, therefore, something more than mere alienship is urged, we cannot see how judgment is to be given against them.

The expulsionists, however, object to them (2) as a class of aliens who continue a foreign community in our midst, and do not, like other foreigners, mix and become incorporated with the body politic. Does this objection to them imply that it would be desirable that they should mix? If it does not we cannot see its force as an argument by itself. Perhaps we are wrong in disconnecting it from the objection which follows, but we think a few remarks may be offered on it separately.

The difference of language must, until surmounted, raise a barrier between them and colonists of European origin. The barrier broken down, we have no reason to believe that they will not (if permitted) scatter their tents into little knots, and cease to hang about the abodes of their few English-speaking countrymen. On every gold field may be found little societies of Germans and Italians, compelled to closer association with one another until they acquire the means of free communication with their English fellow-colonists. So soon as they feel capable of conducting their own business, we find them scattering, and becoming absorbed. We see no reason for the same course not

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\* We might also quote the persecution of the Jews in Spain, and advert to the very different policy pursued by the Spaniards of the present day. They encourage by every means in their power the immigration of Chinese to their splendid colonies in the Phillipines, and they actually pay the passage to Cuba of thousands of Chinese Coolies every year. The Coolie, we may remark, is a much less desirable man than those we now have here, who have mostly been small farmers, with a good sprinkling of pedlars and shopkeepers.

obtaining with the Chinese, if they were able to place themselves on an equal footing. Such, however, they are not allowed to do, for the present capitation tax prohibits their introducing their women\* by our ports, and the long foot journey from Guichen Bay, effectually bars their arrival by that channel. We, at present, refuse the Chinese the chance of amalgamating. We pen him up in particular camps, and grumble at his obedience. We debar him the means of settling as a family man, and raise a hue and cry about his departure with his small savings, forgetting that by our laws we really compel him to go. It is a delusion to suppose, as many do, that there is any law prohibiting a Chinese woman leaving her home. A long residence in China enables us to contradict this most positively. Any number of Chinese, male and female, can embark at Hong Kong, Macao, or any of the five ports, without let or hindrance from the authorities, and there is (in time of peace) unrestricted communication between these ports and all the interior of China. If, therefore, it is any point in their favour, that under a different system they would become more scattered, and more attached to the soil, then we have the remedy in our own hands, for the disposition to do so is not wanting among them, especially as the majority of those here are farmers, or the sons of farmers. If, on the other hand, it is thought better that they should not mingle, then, surely their compliance with our fancied conditions of prosperity should not be raised as an objection to them.

It is now asserted, however (3), that alike by their present segregation, and by their numbers, they are a continual source of disquietude and apprehension: and that, therefore, measures ought to be taken for their removal.

To any person, who has had a thorough practical acquaintance with the Chinese character, this, of all that is urged against them, appears most absurd. Here they are as one to ten of the population of the colony, as one to fifteen of the numbers that might be brought to bear on them. They are deprived of all possibility of external aid; they are placed by the action of our laws in such a position that they cannot look to forming a home on our shores; and they are entirely dependent on our vessels and navigators for the means of returning whence they came. Let us contrast this for a moment with Hong Kong. There they

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\* We find that females are not subject to this tax. The Chinese are, however, unaware of their exemption, and there are other causes, mentioned in what follows, that operate as a bar to their introduction.

are as 80 to 1 ; they are within a mile of the mainland of China ; they have thousands of native craft at their own wharves, and can command any amount of assistance from the opposite shore. Yet, though badly governed ; though heavily taxed ; though exposed to the extortion of subordinates in a hundred shapes, on the one hand ;—though, on the other hand, taunted by secret societies, and tempted with the bribes of crafty mandarins, there has never yet been a serious attempt at disturbance. The few trifling *emeutes* that have occurred, from time to time, have been nothing more than clamourous remonstrances against improper or impolitic enactments ; and never, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of seditious conspirators, have any of these mobs attained an organized character. While referring to this settlement, we will be reminded of the recent attempt to poison the principal European inhabitants, but the character of a community should never be condemned by a single crime of a single member, which, by the way, hideous though it be, is not without its parallel\* in the annals of our own and neighbouring colonies. If, then, with every inducement to show that natural ferocity which some allege against the Chinese, the small English community of Hong Kong has continued in undisturbed supremacy for the last fifteen years, is it probable that the thirty-three thousand Chinese now in our midst will fulfil the predictions of some of our sapient legislators, who prophecy the speedy annexation of our colony to the Celestial Empire. Another finder of mare's nests threatens us with a second edition of Hengist's invasion. Yes, a new phase of national character is to be brought out. The country that has been unable to defend itself for the last twelve centuries, is suddenly to adopt an aggressive policy. An adventurous chief is to make a descent on our coast with his hundreds, or shall we say thousands, of braves ; is to cut his way through the panic-struck inhabitants of our seaboard, affect a junction with ready organized brigades of his countrymen on the different gold fields, and then calling a council of his head men, decide a few points preliminary to inaugurating the code of King Foo Tse ; such as whether our heads would be better on our shoulders or in pickle casks ; whether, if allowed to continue alive, we will be used as slaves, or allowed to continue our ordinary callings, in consideration of

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\* Our allusion is to the wholesale slaughter and poisoning of the original inhabitants of this country, confessed to by many old settlers, but, of course, loudly deprecated by the majority of our fellow-colonists.

wearing pig-tails, and paying a heavy poll-tax. Really it is high time Mr. Wills should be stirring as to organizing our warlike defences. What sum, however, could erect batteries sufficient to withstand the attacks of half-a-dozen war junks, painted with the likenesses of the most ferocious animals, and manned by the *elite* of the matchlock men of the Celestial Empire. Oh, Barnum! thou Soyer of humbugs, pray condescend to visit us, and reform our feeding, for at present our stomachs are sadly troubled with the most overdone claptrap, and the frothiest bunkum.

Seriously, however, have those conjuring up such fancies ever studied the Chinese character, either individually or nationally? If they have, and have found the aggressive elements developed to the extent necessary to justify such apprehensions, we can only say that they have fallen in with most exceptional specimens, and that, during a lengthened experience of that people, both in China and this country, it has never been the lot of the writer to meet with similar men. Yet he has, with a few fellow-countrymen, penetrated not a few Cantonese crowds, in a way, too, not very considerate of their feelings. He has personally known several rebel leaders, and has seen them to advantage, in the midst of their own troops. He has been frequently concerned in attacks on their piratical strongholds and squadrons by very inferior numbers of Europeans; and he has been an eye witness of several collisions, and of one so-called pitched battle, between the rebels and the Imperialists, yet he has failed to form any other than the most contemptuous opinion of their ability to act as an aggressive body. He admits his liability to mistake, but, should he have fallen into error, he has done so in common with all Europeans who have had similar experience.

Before leaving this section of our subject, a word on the Singapore riots and the recent Sarawak insurrection. At the former place the disturbances were the result of offensive interference with their religious ceremonies and festivals, and of odious distinctions being made between them and the Malays. From Sarawak we have heard only one side of the question. We know, however, from Rajah Brooke's published letters that he encouraged the immigration of Chinese in every way in his power; that he once looked on them as the best of subjects, and that part of his policy of government was to pit race against race. Whether the late insurrection has been the result of this latter mode of government, or has arisen from oppressive measures, we are at present unable to judge in the absence of suffi-

cient information. So far as reliance is to be placed on accounts already published, the vengeance of the insurgents seems to have been directed against government officers only, for no injury was done to the family or friends of the Bishop, who were on the contrary, kindly treated.

That a large amount of treachery mingles with the Chinese charactered is undeniable. It is the weapon of the weak in all parts of the world. But any extensive treacherous conspiracy requires bold plotting heads, ready working hands, considerable organization, profound secrecy, and sudden and simultaneous action. Against such a combination of ingredients among the Chinese we hold ourselves perfectly safe.

The preposterous hypothesis of the Chinese in the colony forming an alliance with any hostile European power, so far exceeds the limits of probability, that we think it unnecessary to deal with it. There is far more likelihood of the peace of the colony being disturbed by a troop of bushrangers than by a rising of Chinese. The one set live by plunder and black mail, the other by the most constant and painstaking industry.

(4) The Chinese do nothing to forward the prosperity of the colony, and (5) they carry off their savings to their own country.

Such are the objections to which we have given the fourth and fifth places. They are often urged separately, but amount essentially to the same thing, and it will save much repetition to consider them together. Let us sketch the usual career of Chinese gold seekers. They arrive almost entirely in English vessels, paying their passage to English merchants. Landing at some port uncontrolled by our tariff, they come in droves overland. As they pass the various gold fields, they break up into different parties, and with a few pounds of rice as all their capital they commence the pursuit of wealth. A week or two is spent in the employment of some of their countrymen till they are sufficiently in funds to purchase their own tub and cradle. These obtained they are fairly started. Quietly and patiently they toil on, confining themselves for the most part to worked-out ground. What their savings may be estimated at we shall presently enquire, \*

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\* We had hoped to have obtained access to statistics showing the total amount of gold exported to China since the imposition of the 2s. 6d. duty. This divided by the number of Chinese who have left during the same time, would have given a sum slightly in excess of the average amount realized by each Chinese digger. We find, however, that such information is not so easily obtained by a private individual, and would suggest that some independent member of the Legislature should move for such a return as would give this really valuable information.

but all residents on the gold fields, not wilfully prejudiced, will agree that while John Chinaman is earning well he is also spending well.

A recent memorial from Fryerstown represent them as living in the most penurious manner. The memorial we are convinced must have decided on very scant premises. When a Chinaman is unlucky, he will, it is true, live on what most Europeans would reject; but any storekeeper on the diggings will vouch that the Chinaman, in funds, considers the best of every thing as barely good enough for his own consumption, and that the largest cauliflowers, the heaviest poultry, and the highest priced butcher-meat often form their staple articles of food. Nay, on Bendigo, we are assured, the weekly supply of Murray cod is anxiously waited for by many Chinamen, and an early pick of the cart secured, no matter what the price asked. There is every ground for asserting that the Chinese feed more generously than the European diggers, and afford greater encouragement to our own producers than an equal number of whites would. But, says some one, the gold with which they make such purchases they take from us; they only take it out of one pocket and put it into the other. We demur to this. They do not take it from *us*. They take the gold from the soil where it lays as useless as the intermixed gravel, and where it would continue to lie for an indefinite period. All that they so take, they pass at once through the pockets of our European countrymen. Our gold buyers, our greengrocers, our butchers and drapers, and blacksmiths and produce merchants, all have their turn in fingering it, and would miss it very seriously indeed. Well, in the meantime John has been accumulating a bundle of notes, which he by and bye invests in a store, a puddling mill, or a horse and dray, and generally manages to double his capital in a few months. All this time the money which would otherwise have been but dirt underfoot is passing backwards and forwards through our hands, and surely in adding to the prosperity of individuals, it is adding to the prosperity of the colony. At last as we will debar him from bringing a wife here, he realizes his cash, purchases back some of his gold at an advanced price, re-embarks with it in an English vessel, and returns whence he came. "Just so," says our friend, "it comes to that at last—there is so much money finally lost to the colony." Not so fast, we beg. We are not yet done with our sketch. John has returned to his native village, he has purchased himself a

wife, and passed a pleasant honeymoon. But he has by these means got through a good deal of his savings. The local mandarin or some of the sharks from his Yaman begin to "squeeze" his purse rather hard, and though John does not "seem to see it," he must submit, and knows if he continues there he must also continue to submit. Interest and inclination both point to another voyage as the remedy. He either invests the remainder of his money in goods which he forthwith ships for our market, or he pays the passage of some five or six labourers, who will work for him for a certain time subsequent to their arrival here. These he will see smuggled in without any poll tax, no matter whether by Guichen Bay or Twofold Bay. He himself, being able to pay, comes direct to Melbourne, travels inland by Cobb or Clarke, and before the arrival of his labourers has selected the field for their operations, or the situation best fitted for the disposal of his goods. The proceeds of his enterprize and his labourers toil are an increase in the exports of the colony, and if we will permit him he will employ his savings in permanent colonial investments. This is no imaginary case—we can lay our hand on a dozen such. Nay more, we can point to some who have within the short period it has been enforced, paid the £10 entry money three several times in consequence of similar departures and returns. Undeniably there are many who go home with their twenty or thirty ounces, and never return. True, but such cases are not confined to Chinese. But even from such, we continue, however, to reap benefit, though less directly. They have acquired a taste, nay, a craving for many kinds of English goods, they inoculate others with a similar feeling, and the trade of the mother country is proportionately increased. It is all very well to sneer at such reasoning as round about and far fetched. It is necessary to show the question in all its bearings. Let these be considered temperately and dispassionately, and then let us decide whether or no a great portion of the Chinaman's earnings does not go to forwarding the prosperity of the colony; and whether or no our own ill-considered policy be not the only bar to the employment of a still larger amount of their savings in advancing the well-being of the colony.

In passing from this part of the subject we will submit a question to the consideration of political economists. The imports are considerably in advance of the exports. The Chinese population is say, 33,000 adults. The European equals say, 320,000 adults. Endeavour to compute the relative produce of this division of the population, also their relative consumption

of home grown and imported goods, and see which is the most profitable to the colony. We have not access to the statistics required for determining the question, but we believe the Chinaman's very small consumption of intoxicating drinks, and very large consumption of colonial produce, will alone be an offset to all the gold he diverts from colonial channels.

We come next to consider the objection (6) of immorality—

There are certain characters with which a vague and studiedly mysterious rumour, indicating some hideous yet undefined charge, is regarded as a real godsend. They pet it and cherish it, and share it quietly with their friends. They give it the air on fitting occasions, but as it thrives best in the dark, they do not let the light of open examination play upon it. The longer they fondle it, the oftener they repeat it, the larger and still larger it looms, and the more firm is their belief in it. Something of this kind is the charge we refer to. The Chinese are accused of immorality of such a degree, that their very presence is contamination, and the sufferance of it a sin. Now as we have a particular objection to wrestle with a shadow, we should very much like to learn the facts on which this argument is founded. As to what may be called the routine crimes of our police courts, we find them singularly guiltless. We look in vain for Chinese parallels to those staggering Europeans, who may be seen on a Saturday in any of our digging townships puling forth maudlin sentiment, or shouting indecent language after the passers by. We never see Chinese figuring in the police sheet for assault, and comparatively rarely for larceny. On these points, however, we will be enlightened by returns called for by the Assembly. We feel it safe to predict that the cases of conviction of Chinamen set against those of Europeans, will not be as one to fifty, instead of bearing its proportion of one to eight or nine. We are glad to see a prospect of the tangible part of this objection being finally set aside. It is well known, however, that the anti-Chinese party rely greatly on the power of that fog-wrapt fama to which we have alluded, and which charges the objects of their antipathy with a variety of unmentionable crimes.

As we have said before, let them produce their evidence. They affect to pride themselves in the English principle, of all being innocent till proved guilty. Let them extend the benefit of this to the Chinese. The *onus probandi* lies with the accusers. Let them bring into court ever so disjointed evidence, and they will find a jury but too ready to believe them and to condemn the accused.

But we have lately become distrustful of the soundness of the moral code of those whose sensitiveness has been so severely shocked by the contemplation of the Chinese character. We have found that they consider neither assault, arson, nor robbery any great offence. Their practice of humanity does not extend to the sick or the dying. These may be driven forth to starve and die without wringing their tender hearts. Or is all this merely the consequence of a high sense of duty that overcomes their finer feelings, and is it their determination to confine the possession of gold to Europeans, that leads them to cut off the finger of a celestial, that they may deprive him of his ring? We are not blind to the vices of gambling, lying, and dishonesty possessed by the Chinese, in common with all Oriental nations, but we have as yet failed to ascertain an instance where they have led to such results as the high-toned morality of the Bucklanders. The fact is, that the Chinese here generally are superior, in point of morality, to the uneducated classes of our own countrymen. The Confucian code of morals has in many respects an astonishingly close resemblance to the best and highest precepts of Christianity. Sir John Davis, a standard authority on Chinese matters, remarks, that the rural population (of which class are two-thirds of the Chinese here) "are much more moral than we give them credit for; that the missionaries, to enhance the value of their services, have grossly exaggerated the vices of the Chinese; that European experience of their character has been for centuries chiefly derived from the lower classes of Canton, where, as in all large seaports, there is a great amount of vice, and that for us to judge of them from this is as absurd as if Chinese should trade with Portsmouth, and from the classes *they* would chiefly come in contact with there, judge of all English society."

My own experience leads me quite to agree with these remarks.

The objection to which we have given the seventh place, urges that an admixture is undesirable and to be guarded against; and that should the Chinese continue to have access to the colony, as heretofore, the Victorians of a future age will be a degenerate, bilious looking race, with crooked eyes, and an inclination to develope pigtails. We really cannot find it possible to combat this seriously. A former objection condemned them as aliens, who would not mix and become colonists, but here we find a dread entertained of their rapidly rising in the estimation of the fair sex to such an extent, that notwithstanding the many bidders,

they will all but monopolize the market of Hymen, and ultimately people the colony with an Anglo-Chinese nation. Whatever force this objection contains, we are willing to leave to it. True there have been some half dozen such marriages, but if there were as many hundred, it still remains a matter of taste on the part of our ladies, and if they prefer a Chinese to a Saxon lord, we will not be ungallant enough to question their selection.

But the fact is, that the supreme contempt which the uneducated classes of our own countrywomen entertain for all colored races, is quite sufficient to prevent any great extent of intermarriage.

In the next objection, that, namely, of their impeding the working of the miner, and consequently the production of gold, we have to grapple with a more formidable charge than any of the preceding. They are accused of spoiling water, that first of all necessities. They are said to take and hold possession of old ground and to render it unworkable to Europeans. They are condemned as unprofitable diggers, because they are not a prospecting community.

In our own experience we have good reason to know that the first charge is true, but not to the degree that those urging it would wish to have it believed. We have known really hard cases where diggers who at one time have had a hole or two of water close to their tents for cooking purposes, have been forced to abandon the use of them, and fetch their water from a great distance. But we also know cases where the digger himself had befouled intermediate holes, which he might otherwise have used, and though his immediate inconvenience may have been the result of the careless habits of Chinamen, the extent of that inconvenience was the consequence of the thoughtlessness of himself and countrymen. Nevertheless, we are willing to pass over this entirely, and to leave our admission of the accusation of spoiling water unmodified. Still we maintain that it is capable of a far simpler and cheaper remedy than the summary deportation of the offenders. The different local courts might, we fancy, employ a little of that portion of their time which is not devoted to politics, in devising some simple regulations on the subject, or still better, the miners of each gully might come to a mutual understanding, and obtain the warden's sanction for the sole use of certain water holes; the nearest Chinese camps being informed of such a reserve having been made.

As to their alleged crime of spoiling water for mining pur-

poses, we are forcibly reminded of the old fable of the wolf and the lamb, and consider the object of the accusation to be the same as Lupo's. Most undoubtedly water which has been once used for gold washing is less desirable than water that has never been used. Water which has been twice used is still more objectionable, and so on. But the Chinese digger does not always get the first turn of water, nor does he generally do so—In fact, he runs a much worse chance of it than his European neighbours. It would undoubtedly accelerate the operations of every party if they had a stream for their sole use, but unfortunately, dame Nature cannot afford such a supply, and they must put up with a share of the best they can get. It is but a lame attempt of the grievance-monger to lay all the dirty water of the gold fields at John Chinaman's door, yet it is toō generally encouraged, owing to the selfish prepossession of those who are well qualified to contradict it.

Next, as to their working out old ground, and their not being a prospecting community. Let us try to get at some clear understanding as to the spirit in which such facts are brought forward as objections to the Chinese. What do such people wish them to do? We can understand a party standing forward with the bold assertion, that foreigners have no right to search for gold in this colony. We could not help considering such a party selfish at bottom, but we might give them credit for some sort of mistaken patriotism, and be entrapped into a half sympathy for them. Any consistent assertion of a great general principle, even though in error, commands a certain portion of respect. Even his opponents, while dubbing him a wrong-headed fellow, will add that they believe him honest. But let a man descend to systematic quibbling, let him ground his opposition on one thing now; get beaten from that point, urge another; find that equally untenable, and pretend to be partially converted, yet in another company again dogmatically urge what he has been shown is false; such a man is at last found out, and is refused the courteous consideration which would be accorded to the pig-headed assertion of a main principle. The unsteady, shilly-shallying course of procedure adopted by the Anti-Chinese party; their trick of setting up accusations which have so often been knocked over; of quoting as ascertained facts what are ascertained falsehoods, and, worst of all, of first inflaming the basest passions of the lower orders, and then appealing to them as judge and jury; all these, we repeat, while going far to show

the weakness of their case, go still further to shut them out from the ranks of candid and honest debaters. At present we will find one portion of them attempting to justify the Bucklanders for expelling the Chinese from the new ground they were there working, because it was *new* ground. Another set, represented by the Fryerstown memorialists, pray for their exclusion because they only work *old* ground, and are not given to prospecting. The real gist of the matter is—that the European miner begrudges even his leavings to a Chinaman. He would rather the gold should continue among the dirt than be raised by a Celestial. He is to put to shame by the steady, plodding industry that extracts a competency from the old pillars of ground which he declares he left because it would not even “grub” him. He hates to have a practical lesson in perseverance, economy, and sobriety constantly taught him by a yellow skin. His envy of his competitors soon begets hatred, which is speedily conjoined with malice. He is ready to believe and circulate anything to their disadvantage, no matter how caluminious; and if he does not himself commit overt acts of violence, he gives his moral support to any movement for their detriment, applauding its execution by others the more highly, according as he may dread the personal consequences of a similar deed.

We presume it matters little whether old ground falls in in consequence of the pillars being removed by Europeans or by Chinamen. After it comes to be worked to such an extent that these are insufficient, it will, of necessity, fall in, and cease to be of use to any one but the large capitalists. Several companies in applying for extensive leases (say 4 or 5 acres) of old alluvial workings, have stated that it was not their intention to interfere with tub and cradle-men using the ground granted to them, as these would really affect the entire yield very slightly. How does this fact tally with the statement, that the Chinese render the ground *utterly* useless.

It is well known that the thoughtless way in which puddlers allow their sludge to spread, in districts not frequently visited by wardens, is the cause of a great deal of ground being rendered useless to tub and cradle-men for an indefinite period. Yet we never hear an outcry raised against them. In their case it is allowed that “sludge must go somewhere or other, so it is no use grumbling.” Their water-courses may break, their dams overflow neighboring holes, or their sludge channels get blocked up, and consequently render a whole flat unworkable; but all that is

allowed to be in the ordinary course of things. But woe to the poor Chinamen if they should let their tailings get into neighbouring holes. That which, when practised wholesale by a European, is looked upon as merely an everyday accident, when perpetrated by a Chinaman becomes a serious crime, and calls for direst retribution.

We do not mean to say that John Chinaman is a bit more careful than his neighbour, but we deny his being less so, and assert that Chinese miners do not spoil a bit more ground than Europeans do in working ground of a similar character.

As yet we have confined ourselves to meeting such objections as have been directed against the Chinese. We may still find a few errors to correct. We may write a few more facts relative to the subject, and offer a few suggestions as to equitable adjustment of the Chinese question.

Before starting on this division of our subject, let us deprecate the charge of plagiarism, for which we fear some foundation may be found. Many of the lines of argument we have pursued, may undoubtedly have been followed out, and more fully dealt with, by others, and these, as well as some of the opinions offered, may appear borrowed, but such is not the case. We undoubtedly, to a great extent, think and feel in common with others who have separated themselves from the detractors and persecutors of the Chinese, and we may occasionally have been led into modes of expression almost identical with theirs. The fault, however, is the result of a too slight acquaintance with the literature of the question, not of any intended imitation. For any repetition which this ignorance may have produced, we beg indulgence. Our aim has been to submit the opinions and conclusions arrived at during a lengthened personal experience. Where we have been driven into strong expressions in so doing, it has been the result of the extravagances of the Anti-Chinese party, and not of any wish to deviate from a plain straightforward statement of convictions.

So far as we have gone, we can find no case made out for the exclusion of the Chinese, still less for their expulsion. Everything goes to show that they are even now useful colonists, and that a considerable increase in their numbers will be far from interfering with the wellbeing of the colony. Even if the diggers make out that they were personally inconvenienced by them, we contend, and are ready to show, that they are not the principal interest of the colony. Their noisy attempts to force down

our throats that *they* are *the colony*, detracts from, rather than adds to their chance of fair consideration. It may, or it may not, be true that gold was the principal agency in making the country what it is, but we deny that it sustains us in our present prosperous condition, and hold that the sudden stoppage of the yield of gold would cause nothing more serious than a temporary derangement. We cannot, with such views, allow that the interests of the diggers and of the colony are synonymous. It is always a difficult question to decide between class interests, but arriving at a decision is simple enough where a class stands on one side, and the whole community to which it belongs is arranged on the other. It may be useful, even to the diggers, if we shortly refer to the late doings in California. Our papers strangely ignore their bearing on this subject. They are constantly dinging in our ears that we must strike out an independent line of policy, with no precedent to guide us. Yet in California we have a case almost identical with our own. Like our own colony, that State rapidly rose into importance owing to the discovery of gold. Large numbers of Chinese were allured to the diggings by the reports of a few successful countrymen. Their numbers rose to a higher proportion than they can do with us for many years. At one time there was estimated nearly 80,000 Chinese diggers. A similar feeling of envy arose, and was fanned into a flame by the same class of men who are here the pest of the body politic. Stump orators, destitute of any principle whatever, and newspaper editors with just as much as would sell, excited by every means the passions of their supporters, and induced them to commit not a few overt acts of violence. A Legislature still more dependent on external influence than our own, was at last wheedled and intimidated into enacting a heavy poll-tax, and tacitly countenancing a wholesale persecution of the yellow men. We have followed them nearly this far; but let us pause and profit by the humiliating results. The Chinese left as fast as they could find funds. The yield of the gold fields rapidly diminished, notwithstanding the introduction of large capital and expensive machinery. Trade, which is always infinitely livelier when supported by men of varying means, languished alike from the increased proportion of those on steady pay, and the great falling off of the number of customers. The rowdies gradually became convinced that the greater the number of consumers, and the competition of suppliers, the cheaper would

their own wants be provided for at last. The same men who had most loudly demanded the impost of a prohibiting tax, began to clamour for its repeal as soon as they had experienced its consequences. It accordingly was repealed, but too late to remedy the evil consequences it had produced. The most respectable portion of the Chinese emigrants continue to turn a deaf ear to the charmer, and will continue to do so, charm they ever so wisely, if we do not, by our own suicidal policy, compel them again to occupy their enterprise in that field. Now, at the time California drove the Chinese miners from her gold fields, she was herself raising a full supply of the principal necessities of life. She had more labour to spare than we had, and had the deficit of gold been the only check to prosperity, she could, without detriment to other pursuits, have transferred a far greater number than we can to the gold producing trade. But she now stands before us frankly confessing her error, and admitting that it was her mistaken policy in reference to the Chinese that brought her to a standstill. Said a father to his son, "You should leave such a course, I have seen the folly of it." Well, replied the son, "I want to see the folly of it too." We seem to be of the same mind. So long as we persevere in a policy which compels the Chinese to amass as quickly as they can, with the view of visiting or returning to their own country, we cannot expect them to enter into pursuits where a considerable time must be spent in preparation, and in which remuneration is not so rapid. Under our present system, or want of system, we compel them to economise time above all other things. But if a prospect of forming a home was held out, there are many other channels by which they would ultimately seek a competence, as being much easier than gold-digging. Thousands of acres of this colony, useless for other purposes, are admirably adapted for the growth of rice. With the cultivation of this grain every Chinaman is familiar, and the large margin which the present prices afford, would induce many to attempt it. Much of our soil would support the sugar cane proper, and the sugar millet. Here is another opening for their industry, which must prove highly remunerative. With the properties of soil required for the growth of tobacco and coffee we are less familiar. For the cultivation of sugar and rice, however, the Cuban and Phillipine planters engage large numbers of Chinese to work on their estates. There is another Chinese production at present engaging the attention of the Indian Government, and which might well repay

our encouragement, that is, the wax insect and its tree. They (the Indian Government) have deemed it worthy of a special mission to Central China to inquire into its habits, and are paying largely for Chinese labourers to introduce it into Bengal. It would be tedious to enumerate all the different modes in which a resident Chinese population might be employed. Let those quoted but serve as an example of additional productions for which we might be indebted to them. There are, however, a few other departments of skilled work in which they would eventually be found, and although the members of these trades might protest against their being admitted into competition, we cannot doubt that it would be for the general advantage. Their great forte (next to agriculture) lays in such sedentary trades as tailoring and shoemaking, in which their wonderful industry and manual expertness enables them to produce cheaply. Why should the Victorians insist on paying a high price for their bread, boots, and coats, when they can have them cheaply and well made here.

As the enactment at present reads, we believe that Chinese women cannot be forced to pay the capitation-tax. Of this, however, the Chinese are generally ignorant, and, even if made aware, would hesitate to expose their wives to the risk of such treatment as they would undoubtedly have received at the hands of the Buckland mob. They live at present in perpetual dread of a repetition of a similar outrage,\* and the course advocated by many journals is well known to them, and adds to their feeling of insecurity. They now hear of a burden to be imposed on them which is too heavy to bear. There is no fear of their offering any other than a passive resistance, but if they do not leave us in a dilemma, it will be more the consequence of their own forbearance than of our foresight.

Having here referred to the subject of special taxation, we will glance at some of the pleas offered by those supporting or opposing its imposition.

First, as to its being a prohibitory measure, we would remark that it is possible it may become so, but at present it is not in the slightest degree prohibitory. Those who were unable or unwilling to pay have till now entered by South Australia; those only who could afford to dispense with the inconvenience

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\* Well they may, for we notice that the Buckland rioters are to be tried by a jury of Bucklanders! who will, of course, acquit them. Is this arrangement made because Government dares not punish them?

of that route have landed at Hobson's Bay. The ten pound head money has, up to this time, had no other real effect than rendering us ridiculous. It is well known that interested parties are at present collecting information respecting Twofold Bay, and some of the neighbouring inlets, with a view of landing their Chinese passengers on that side, and we shall shortly hear of a route been opened up thence to the Ovens and Lake Omeo, by which the Chinese may continue to arrive duty free. The South Australians will find that, by their foolish imitation, they have done no good to us, and have done much harm to the hitherto prosperous community of Robe Town.

Again, the anti-taxation party found an objection on international law, and the protaxationists deny that the Chinese are entitled to the benefits of that code. We cannot join cause with either. The one objection is not called for; the plea of the other party is more than absurd—it is mischievous and wicked. We can see no necessity for lugging the laws of nations into the discussion. Apart from their relevancy, they are daily undergoing practical changes. New times require new laws. But of the other party we would wish to ask what other foundation a perfect code of international law can have besides the law of God? Does that teach them to do unto others as they would not be done by? Do they consider it proper that the Chinese Empire should be severely chastised for an infringement of the punctilios of international law, and at the same time be denied a participation in its benefits? Surely any nation declared amenable to the penalties of such law, is *ipso facto* entitled to share in its protection.\*

Others cavil at the restrictions under which British residents in China labour, in not being entitled to legal protection for more than twenty-four hours journey inland from any of the five ports. These must be in utter ignorance that the limits were self-imposed. At the time of the conclusion of the treaty we might have got anything we wanted, but we thought it unnecessary to ask for more. Where, then, the ground of complaint? Yet in spite of our own engagements, individuals and parties do every day explore the interior of the flowery land beyond such limits. And save in a few melancholy instances (most of them unfortunately missionaries of the order of Jesus) no harm has ever befallen them. The great bar to the acquaintance of the interior

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\* Our diplomatic missions are of themselves sufficient recognition of the claims of China to be dealt with as other nations.

of China is not to be found in such restrictions, but in the general ignorance of Europeans of the language of the country.

While we hold that it is necessary to levy a special tax on the Chinese, we do so on none of the ground adduced for its imposition. We can see no reason for it as a means of exclusion, or as a measure of retaliation. But we recognize a reason for it in the fact, that at present, they do not contribute to the revenue in proportion to their numbers compared with Europeans. Let us take a few figures to make our position clear. We start, assuming the total revenue of the last twelve months to be £3,311,396, and shall attempt the division of this amount between our European and Chinese population.

First of all we set to the credit of the Asiatics £25,770, received from the Chinese Immigration Fund and the Chinese Annual Rate; and we will allow in their favour an additional sum of £25,000, as the produce of the recently established opium duty. Their special taxation then amounts to £50,770.

Next let us see what duties they contribute to in the proportion of their numbers to the rest of our population. In this calculation we assume the Chinese to number 33,000 adults, and the remainder of the population to be equal\* to 320,000 adults. In this ratio they bear a share in the revenue raised from tobacco, sugar, tea, wine, fines and forfeitures, the total amount of these sums being £401,150. This will put a further sum of £41,315 to the credit of the Chinese.

We now come to the gold revenue, which including export duty, miners' rights, escort fees, business licences, &c., amounts to £426,129.† To these duties all the Chinese are subject, but not so the Europeans. We think we stretch beyond the mark when we assume, that twice and a quarter as many Europeans (74,000) as Chinese have anything to do with these taxes. But granting this proportion to be about correct, we still find a sum of £130,000 raised from Chinese. The remaining portion of the revenue is the result of taxation, affecting Europeans solely; at all events the contributions of Chinamen are too small to be taken into account, or materially to alter the calculation, as they consume

\* It must be evident without any lengthened explanation, that it would be unfair to estimate the total number of our European population against the Chinese, who are all male adults. We fear we have over estimated the number of *statute adults* among the Europeans, but until the census is published, we can only make an approximation of the truth.

† Our figures are taken from the *Argus* of the 22nd July, 1857.

but little spirits, and our treatment of them makes them fear to buy land. This investigation, then, shows that at the present moment the Chinese are taxed for the support of the general government to the amount of £222,085, or at the rate of £6 15s. 0d. per head, per annum, while the other classes of the community (estimated as equal to 320,000 adults) pay at the rate of £9 18s. 3d. per head, the total sum being £3,091,062.

Thus an inequality of £2 18s. 0d. per annum has to be made up by each Chinaman, and this would be further increased if the annual rate were abolished, as we shall presently propose. On the other hand it must be remembered, that should we cease to persecute them, they will contribute largely to the revenue derived from land. But from their different language and peculiar circumstances, they require a special supervision, the expense of which, along with the probable cost of collecting their taxes, ought to be borne by themselves alone. Say then, that the annual rate being abolished, it would take, say £3 a year to bring the contributions of a Chinaman to the level of those of the European. It should also be considered however, that few or none of the Chinese are drunkards, and that the large number of our own countrymen who are so, causes a heavy extra expense for police, &c. But we will waive this consideration, and say—Let taxation to this amount be levied immediately. All must recognise our perfect right to insist on their paying their share to the general government. It remains to be considered how this can be raised at the smallest expense of collection, and the least inconvenience to the Chinese. We would propose its division into quarterly payments, as giving more time for the detection of defaulters, and involving less constant “hunting” than a monthly rate. There will be considerable difficulty attending even a quarterly collection, but still it will be practicable with but a small increase of staff, provided a Chinese police be employed to assist. Meanwhile, let the £10 tax be abolished altogether, but let every Chinese before landing be compelled to purchase his miner’s right at the usual rate of £1.

The fears of an overwhelming rush of Chinese to this colony, will lead many to cling to some prohibitory measure. An ill-informed press\* prints plenty of fiction, and but few facts on

\* Let us give two moré specimens, among many of the rubbish given out by our newspapers:—They have often stated that from January to March, 1857, 10,000 Chinese arrived at Guichen Bay, which say they, “is at the rate of 40,000 per annum.”—Alarming truly—How is it that there are not 40,000 in the colony altogether? Simply because, from December to March is the season at which most of them arrive. Then they tell us of the number of sanguinary *Tartars* we have among us, the

the subject, and keeps harping *ad nauseam* on the immense population of China, estimated at 350 millions, and its ability to send to our shores some millions, without the least inconvenience. Now, it would be just as much to the purpose if they kept telling us what was the population of Asia. The Empire of China is a vast nondescript collection of provinces, many of which pay an only nominal allegiance. They are without the least mutual sympathy, have unintelligible varieties of dialect, and hardly any reciprocal interests. They remain together rather by the force of habit, or the *vis inertiae*, than from any natural cohesion; and it has long been a cause of surprise to thinking observers, that so motley a mass should have continued to present even an outward show of consistency. It is, in fact, like one of their own shaky old pagodas, a curiosity, without stability, purpose, or beauty, and formed of materials which must ultimately produce its downfall. The emigration to Australia and California has been *entirely* confined to the Quang Chung province, or vice royalty. This division of the Empire has about sixteen million of inhabitants, and possesses more distinctive features than any of the others. Its capabilities are all we have to consider, and if they were stretched to the uttermost, we do not believe that they could spare more than a hundred thousand adult males. We do not believe such a number would ever be found here at one time, but if they were, we do not consider their presence would be either detrimental or dangerous. One great check will always be the expenses attendant on the venture. Those starting from their homes for the first time, really experience great difficulty in raising the sixty or seventy dollars necessary for their passage money and outfit. Among the small farmers and dealers of the interior of the province such a sum is more than equivalent to £100 or £120 in England, and how very few of our own countrymen would be able to leave the place of their birth if they had first to raise that amount. This last bar would of course equally apply to any part of China, even should the desire to emigrate spread to the other provinces, but of this there is little chance for the next century or so.

We will now, in as few words as possible, suggest a few measures which it is believed would prove at once remedial and salutary:—

1. That, after an interval of eighteen months shall have

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fact being that there is not one Tartar in Victoria. The Tartars are the dominant class in China, and bear the same relation to the Chinese as the Normans in England did to the Saxons in the 12th century.

elapsed from the passing of an act to the following effect:—No vessel carrying Chinese passengers be allowed to anchor in any port in Victoria, unless one-half of the said Chinese shall be females. Any vessel with passengers in contravention of this rule, to be immediately towed to sea, and, if she re-enters any Victorian port, to be confiscated, and the proceeds employed in returning the male passengers to their homes; or, let each Chinaman without a wife pay a fine of £20, before landing.\*

2. That a border police be established with the view of preventing the *entrance* of males from other colonies, unless accompanied by an equal number of females.

3. That every Chinese male be obliged to procure a miner's right before being permitted to land, or otherwise enter the colony.

4. That a poll-tax of fifteen shillings or even £1, quarterly, be imposed on all Chinese males. Two or three months' notice to be given of its enactment, and its collection entrusted as far as possible to Chinese police. Of course, we mean that the Act imposing a poll-tax of £10, and restricting ships to one Chinese passenger for each ten tons, should be abolished.

5. That authority be procured to compel defaulters to work out the amount of their defalcation, and the expense of their detention on some public work (such as railway cutting.)

6. That a Chinaman be rendered legally qualified to hold land in his own name for the purpose of cultivation, and that a bonus, or an exemption from poll-tax be offered to such as shall introduce and raise new products to a certain extent, until the same shall be cultivated in like quantity by Europeans. It might also be advisable to give five year grants of waste and uninhabited lands for the last named purpose, such land at the expiry of that period to be sold, valuing the improvements.

7. That it be rendered legal for the Executive to proclaim, with six months' notice, the imposition of a tax of one hundred pounds a head on every Chinese male entering the colony, whether by land or sea.

8. That an officer be established in Hong Kong or Canton, with a view of disseminating information, giving certificates to a

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\* It may be enquired why so few of them have Chinese wives at Singapore, Java, &c.?—The answer is obvious—In these places there are plenty of handsome native women, who are very glad to get such thrifty industrious money-making husbands as the Chinese—Here, should they settle, they have no resource but to get wives from China.

proper class of Chinese females, and keeping a check on emigrant ships.

9. That a simple and clear digest of our laws relative to crimes against property and the person, and of those for the regulation of gold mining be rendered into Chinese, and printed in a cheap form, as is the custom in China : they can all read.

10. That in each of the proposed districts for a court of mines, a Chinamen elected by his own countrymen be empowered to act as a petty magistrate, that his jurisdiction shall extend over petty crimes and mining disputes, where both the complainant and defendant are Chinese, that a complete register of all cases heard before him be kept in Chinese and English ; that in case of appeal his decision be subject to the revision of the nearest Bench or Warden.

The intention of the first measure requires no explanation, except as to the date, which would give the Chinese time to acquire confidence in the benignity and justice of our laws, and to be convinced *that we are not such barbarians as they now* with some reason think us. The second only prevents the evasion of the first, and forces all contrabands back over the frontier, thereby relieving us of the necessity for supporting them, and ultimately compelling neighbouring colonies to act in concert with us. The third only provides for the most convenient collection of a duty to which every gold seeker is subject, and furnishes a document which would prove useful in fixing the time for the levy of the quarterly rate. The fourth goes to provide an equalization in the contribution to the general revenue of Chinese and European inhabitants, and allows a small margin for collection and special superintendance. The fifth suggests a profitable or at least a self-supporting mode of dealing with defaulters. The sixth would encourage them in taking to pursuits\* alike more consonant to their previous habits, more profitable to themselves, and more beneficial to the country than gold-seeking. The seventh places in the hands of the Government an effectual check to their increase beyond a certain extent. We must repeat, that we cannot anticipate the arrival of any numbers of Chinese that could not be profitably employed in our territory ; but it might be as well to legislate at once for all the possibilities of the question. The notice of six months is barely sufficient to admit of such a proclamation being made public in China. A shorter period we would consider unfair to those who might have

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\* The majority of the Chinese here are farmers or sons of farmers.

innocently chartered ships or embarked under the impression that no change had been made. The eighth measure provides for the dissemination of information among the Chinese, and for the supervision of emigrant vessels. It would completely shut up the loop-hole of ignorance through which so many try to escape. At the present time the number of influential nien in Hong Kong and Canton interested in deceiving Chinamen, and in concealing information from them is so great, that really nothing authentic reaches the ears of those whom it most concerns. The appointment of such an officer is therefore urgently called for, if we wish to deal justly and honestly with all. The ninth proposal would, if adopted, greatly familiarise the Chinese with our system of jurisprudence, which to them is at present more a matter of guess-work than anything else.

Our last suggestion may by some be thought rather a rash one, but it only recommends a course which has long been followed by the Spanish Government in the Phillipines, where the number of Chinese is between fifty and sixty thousand. It has there been found to work admirably, and we see no reason why it should not do so here.

We have already far exceeded the intended limits of these remarks, and have not space to amplify on one or two points which we wished to have dwelt on; such as the proved inefficiency of the present Chinese regulations, the necessity of a sanitary supervision of their camp.—the ridicule we incur in allowing our laws to be evaded, and the bad consequences which must inevitably result,—the danger of conceding anything to the clamour of a mob, more especially when they threaten physical force, and lastly, the utter impossibility of the measure now before the House doing any good, and the certainty of its being unworkable and leading to endless expense. All this, however, we must leave to other hands. But there is one point which we cannot thus pass over. It is the right of the Chinese to compensation from Government for the damage sustained at the hand of the Buckland mob. We could name ever so many cases where compensation has been *exacted* from Chinese communities for injuries inflicted on British property by lawless rabble, where claims known to be exorbitant were not even allowed to be taxed, but had to be settled instantly, under pain of fire and sword. We have enforced a similar rule of practice all over India and the Cape territory, and are now by our previous policy committed to the course we have so long insisted on. It must

be granted, however, that the justice of the petition alone ought to be sufficient reason for making good the damage done by the Buckland rowdies, and so wiping away a part of that stain, which must ever, to a greater or less degree, darken the good name which we have sought to earn for loyalty and respect for the law. The Texan gambusine and the California lyncher, are types which we certainly might have expected to meet in individuals on our gold fields, but we blush to find a body of some hundred diggers trying to emulate them in their worst excesses, and wantonly maltreating a quiet, inoffensive, and unresisting set of neighbours.

In these hurriedly written remarks, we have confined ourselves to rebutting charges made against the Chinese, and to showing that it is neither expedient nor necessary that they should be excluded or expelled. But do not let it be supposed from this that we can find nothing to say in their praise. Any one might talk in the abstract of their good qualities ; but we have experienced numerous instances of their fidelity, their gratitude, their respect for law, aye, and of their honesty and individual bravery. Their docility, industry, and sobriety are admitted by their bitterest enemies ; are not these three qualities alone sufficient to constitute them good colonists ? The writings of Sir John Davis, Sir George Staunton, Doctor Morrison, and other travellers in China, fully confirm all this.

But let us not forget, in the treatment of this question, that we have a wider responsibility than the case of mere local interest. We too often forget in our contemplated measures that we have to study those of the mother country. We are too apt to ape a distinct nationality, and to act as if we had an independent existence. Above all, we too little reflect on the work given us to do by the Great Disposer of events, who has in his allwise providence seen fit to direct so many Pagans to our shores, and to place us in the position of becoming a powerful agency for the diffusion of a knowledge of His truth. This is always our duty, but in the present instance it would seem we have an especial call to it in the singular fact, that had the treasures of California and Australia been discovered 40 or 50 years ago—such was then the segregation of the Chinese from Europeans, and their ignorance of us, that probably not one Chinaman would have gone to either place. Had they heard of it, they would have looked on it as a barbarian romance. But these treasures have been reserved for the Anglo Saxon race, who have

ever been the foremost in diffusing civilization and Christianity throughout the world, and have been hidden from the Creation until now, until this favorable moment when they might be instrumental in christianizing one-third of the human race—for such is the population of China.

If we as a people continue guilty of such pride and selfishness, as to refuse our rightful service, or lend our puny opposition to this vast and almost visible design of Providence, we may rest assured, that a dire retribution will in some shape or other, sooner or later fall upon us.

We cannot here refrain from saying a word on the disgraceful apathy of our clergy on this point. The letter of "Chinaman," in the *Argus*, well remarks that the clergy wink at the most iniquitous and unchristian laws, rather than say one word which may displease "the powers that be," (always provided that it does not interfere with the loaves and fishes,) whether such law be as in the United States, that a man may flog, brand, or mutilate his own nigger, or as here, that as many Chinese as possible, are to be kept from our shores, where they might get a knowledge of Christianity and civilization to diffuse among their countrymen on their return; and as a "Chinaman" further remarks, "His countrymen are too intelligent not to perceive this glaring inconsistency between the conduct and the professions of the clergy, which gives them a most unfavorable idea of our religion."

One word in conclusion. Some of our reasoning may be found faulty, but at all events our facts are incontrovertible, and on them we feel safe in leaving the whole question to the judgment of every intelligent and impartial reader.

Victoria, August, 1857.

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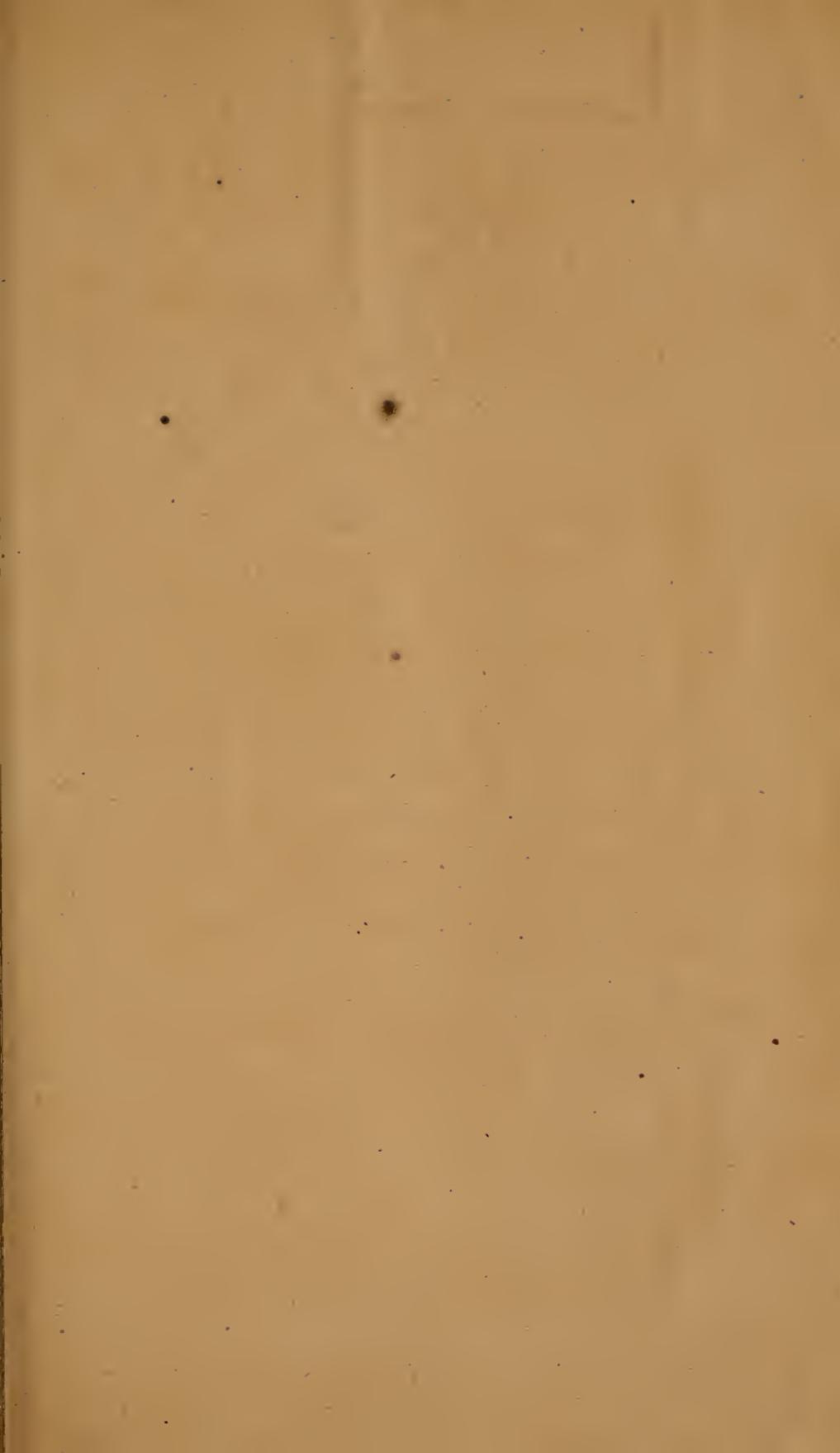
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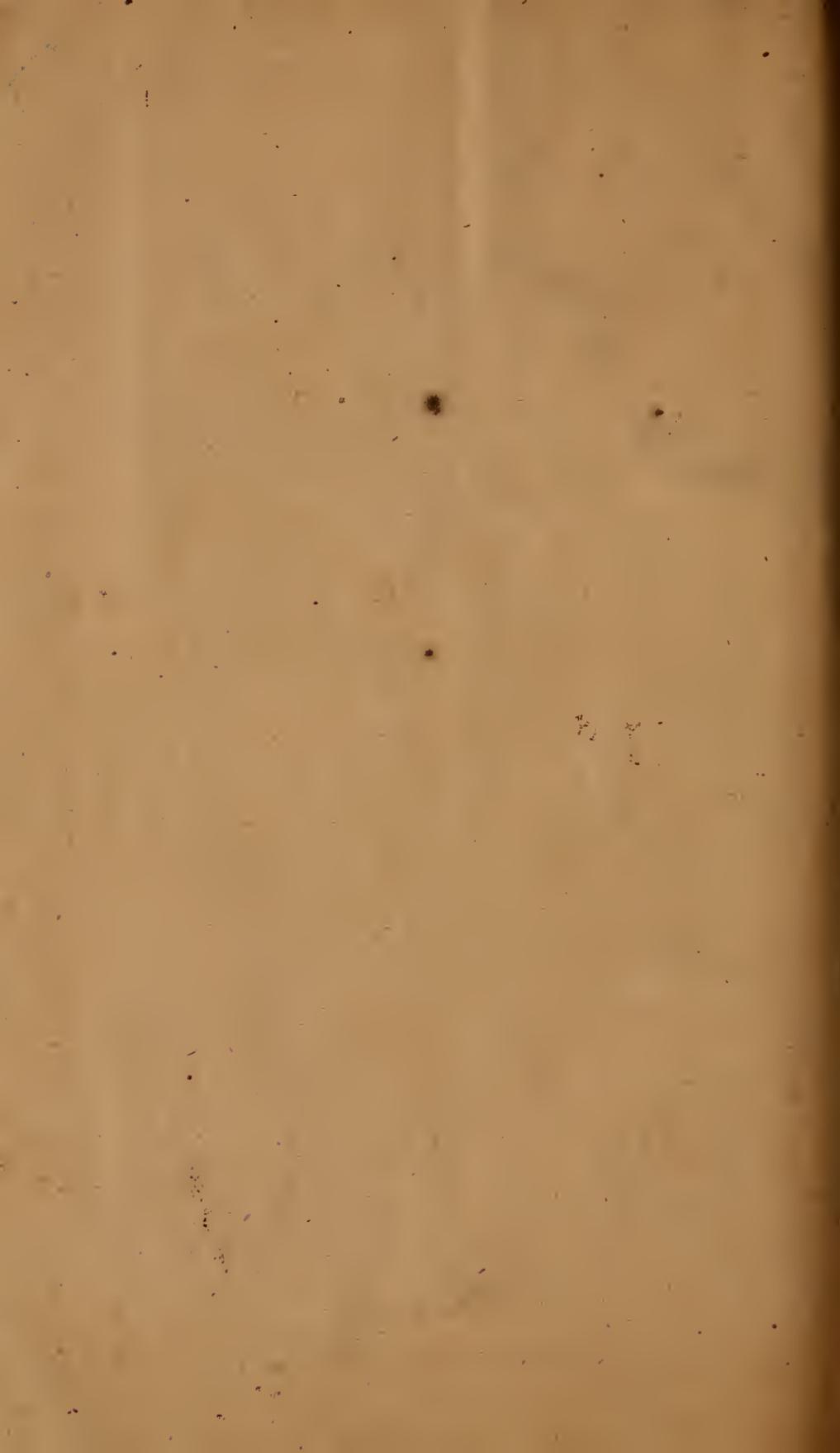
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# THE CHINESE IN AMERICA. A NATIONAL QUESTION.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN METROPOLITAN TEMPLE, SAN FRANCISCO, DEC. 21, 1879, AND IN THE STATE CAPITOL AT SACRAMENTO, JANUARY 16, 1880.

*Long live China!*  
BY REV. O. C. WHEELER, D. D. LL. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST

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T H E

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OAKLAND, CAL.:  
TIMES PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
1880.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Dec., 21, 1879.

*Rev. O. C. Wheeler, D. D., LL .D.*

DEAR SIR:—At the conclusion of your address on “THE CHINESE IN AMERICA, A NATIONAL QUNSTION,” delivered this evening, in Metropolitan Temple, the large audience, by a unanimous vote, endorsed its sentiments, requested a copy for publication and general distribution; and appointed the undersigned a committee to raise the means, attend to the publication and distribution, and also, to convey to you the great pleasure which our fellow-citizens had, in hearing your able presentation of this Chinese Question—this plea on behalf of the Working people and their families, in America.

We earnestly hope it will meet your views to allow the address to be published, in order that copies may be sent to our friends in the Fast for their information on this great NATIONAL QUESTION.

Respectfully,

C. A. BUCKBEE,  
J. A. MELCHER, }  
B. W. OWENS, } Committee.

MESSRS. C. A. BUCKBEE, J. A. MELCHER, and B. W. OWENS.

Gentlemen:—Yours of the 21st is before me. Ever ready, not only to serve, but to defer to the wishes of my fellow-citizens, I herewith transmit the manuscript of the address, of which you do me the honor to so highly speak.

With unqualified gratitude for the compliment you pay me, and with entire devotion to the service of my country, I am

Faithfully yours.

O. C. WHEELER.

1653 Grove St., Oakland, Cal., Dec. 22nd., 1879.

# THE CHINESE IN AMERICA.

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BY REV. O. C. WHEELER, D. D. LL. D.

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THE "Chinese Question," so-called, has long been the subject of deep thought and earnest words, from the Pulpit, the Platform, and the Press. But these efforts have been so exclusively confined to the idea of getting rid of the large number of Mongolians, in our midst, that the public mind seems to have crystallized its meditations into the stirring slogan, "The Chinese must go."

Without a word, at this moment, for or against this motto, I beg to say that it falls short of, and diverts efforts from,

## THE TRUE, THE VITAL ISSUE.

The future coming of the thousands and millions upon our soil, and how to prevent it, is the real, the all-important question of the hour. In discussing this question, I design to be entirely truthful in the statement of facts, entirely honest in my arguments, entirely frank in my admissions, so that when I am through, we may rest with safety upon the conclusions necessarily deduced.

I premise that I am acquainted with the Chinese character, as exhibited on this coast during the last thirty years. I have observed with continuous care, and made notes with earnest fidelity, for a longer time than that just named. My knowledge is not second-hand, I know whereof I speak.

And I beg to further premise that at a very early day I became interested in the welfare of the Chinese,

## WAS THE CHINAMAN'S FRIEND;

and I am still interested in the welfare of the Chinese; am now the Chinaman's friend. As such you must hear me if at all. I only ask, hear me through, patiently, candidly, and then judge, I will be content with your verdict.

Once more, I premise that while I am the friend of China, the most venerable of empires, and of the Chinese, the most highly civilized heathen people on earth, while I am the friend of the Mussulman, the Hindoo and the Cossack, the Teuton, the Celt and the Gaul, I am inexpressibly over and above all a friend of America and the Americans.

And still further, that I am the friend of any man, of any nation, who comes here to reside, just in proportion—other things being equal—to his ability and disposition to become an American. Hence the Chinese in America are to be regarded with favor, so far, and only so far, as they conform to and abide by the rules and regulations, the law and customs, of American civilization.

Of our relations to the Chinese, in China, or the people of any other nationality in their national home, I am not speaking. Therefore I cannot consent that any remarks I may make upon the "Chinese in America," shall be applied to the Chinese in China.

## THE CHINAMAN, NOW ON OUR SOIL,

came here by the same legal permission, and under guaranty of the same legal protection, that any other man from any other nation came. And though his presence is exceedingly offensive to many of our people, there is no legal way to compel him to "go," that might not with equal legality be applied to the ejection of any foreigner resident in our midst.

Of this, more hereafter.

It is true that we have 150,000, more or less, Chinese on this coast, and that nearly all our people (so says the recent vote 154,638, against 883) regard them with disfavor. But, of their own accord, they come and go so numerously that they will soon, in large measure, relieve our laboring people from their blighting competition, if their coming can be stopped.

Their present presence here is a matter of comparatively small importance, in view of

THEIR POSSIBLE FUTURE COMING,

in such numbers as to fill every State in the nation with as large a proportion to our whole people as they now have in California, and to curse every city in our land, as deeply and darkly as they now do San Francisco.

Their numbers, now here, are the merest bagatelle, compared with what may, nay, certainly will be, throughout our whole land, unless our national authorities devise means and enforce measures to prevent their coming.

The question is national or it is nothing.

Nations, like individuals and families must obey "nature's first law" of "self-protection," or, in and for their disobedience, they must and will perish, and they ought to.

You, as the head of a family, are under every possible obligation, not only to protect your wife and children from the hand of the libertine and the assassin, but also to see that no improper person or impure book is admitted within your family circle, whereby moral purity may be contaminated, filial affection destroyed, or undesirable influences of any kind exerted. Your relations to your household bind you in the strongest possible bonds to see that no person shall even temporarily abide under your roof and mingle with your children, whose conduct and conversation, habits and sentiments, are not in accord with your own views and teachings, pertaining to individual purity and domestic happiness.

The constituted authorities of a nation sustain relations to the people of that nation, in these particulars, identical with those sustained by the united head of a family to the members of their household.

The first,

THE ALL-IMPORTANT QUESTION,

with reference to the proposed new member of the community, is not his wealth and his ability to make us wealthy, or his position and his means of giving our sons and daughters titles of

honor or positions of prominence; but is he a fit companion in our social circle, a desirable element in our political compact?

Having stated these few fundamental, axiomatic principles, let us begin to make some of them practical.

Is the Chinese character—I am not speaking of any one Chinaman whom you or I may personally know, and because we know him more or less highly esteem him, but of the Chinese character as it has been exhibited in our midst for more than a quarter of a century—Is the Chinese character, thus exhibited, a desirable element in our American civilization? Will it tend to improve our political economy? Will it enhance our financial prosperity? Will it purify our national morality? Will it elevate and strengthen our national character? Will it place us higher in the scale of nationality among the great powers of the earth?

In order to answer these questions intelligently, we must know what the Chinese character is. Let us therefore briefly analyze it. An acquaintance with its parts will give a fairer, better knowledge of its sum. I speak of general character. There are exceptions to every characteristic I name; of these I do not speak. I beg you to bear this in mind throughout the address.

1. The Chinaman is intellectual. He has

A LARGE, FULL, ACTIVE BRAIN.

In deep cunning and sly craftiness, in quickness of apprehension and broad grasp of thought, in clear, far-seeing business sagacity and enlarged financial policy, in arranging the development of natural resources and in fore-casting the results of international commerce, he is the peer of the best men on earth.

2. This intellect is cultivated. He is educated. He can read and write, and can handle numbers with the most rapid "lightning calculator" in the land. In his native land literature, learning, education, constitute the only passport to political preferment. If there is anything that he, from the bottom of his soul, despises above all others, and which he regards as indubitable evidence that we are in very deed "outside barbarians," it is one of our scrambles for office, usually called a "political campaign," where position is obtained by the purchase of votes, and the

subornation of perjury in testifying to the accuracy of the count.

3. He is

SAGACIOUS IN BUSINESS.

Let a simple illustration index this point. A few weeks since, a gentleman, prominent among the leading residents of Oakland, president of a bank in San Francisco, with whom I have been personally acquainted during my entire residence on this coast, in passing the door of a Chinese cigar factory on Sacramento street, San Francisco, looked in to see their work. In an interior room he found a bright-eyed Chinaman, attaching to each box, after it was filled and closed, a prominent label in plain English, "The Chinese must go." "But," said his interrogator, "Why do you put that on your own make of cigars?" "Oh, put that on," said he with a shrewd toss of his head, "put that on them, Kearney men buy um and shmoke um sure."

4. He is frugal. He probably saves more and spends less of what passes through his hands than any other living man. Accumulation is the one absorbing passion of his life. To that every other propensity must yield. It is his morning thought and dream by night.

"The frugal life is his,  
Which in a saint or cynic ever was  
The theme of praise."

"'Tis he across whose brain scarce dares to creep,  
Aught but thrift's parent pair to get, to keep."

5. He is persevering. Baffled a thousand times in the same attempt, he renews it with all the energy of a first effort. His mind once fixed upon the accomplishment of an object, the reaching of a goal, and his efforts cease only with impossibility or the end of life. Hedge up his way, and he will either scale, burrow under, or go around the hedge. Stretch a line across his path in the dark that will trip him up, and he will arise and try again for an hundred times.

6. He is

PATIENT UNDER ABUSE

and mal-treatment. I have seen and so have some of you, in the

city of San Francisco, the Chinaman passing along the street, bearing his heavy burden, neither troubling nor molesting any one. But a gang of hoodlums, a block or two distant discover him, and, giving a fiendish yell, start for their victim, filling their pockets as they run, with rock and brick-bats, they rush upon and pelt him most unmercifully, for no other reason than that he is a Chinaman; and when they have exhausted their stores, or are driven off by respectable citizens, he rises from the pavement to which they had felled him, takes up his burden, and with his bruised limbs and bleeding head resumes his way as if nothing had occurred.

These traits of Chinese character, all must admit, are prominently commendable. They show in his favor anywhere. But they are not all. There are other traits of Chinese character perhaps not so commendable. Let us look at a few of them.

1. Untruthfulness. They entirely disregard the most solemn and binding obligations of an oath, if administered in any other way than by cutting off a chicken's head, and even then, his veracity depends largely upon his chances of escaping punishment if he lies. And as for truth in the common transactions of every day life, from his very infancy he is taught falsehood as a science, and deception is daily practiced in his presence as a fine art.

#### HE IS A THIEF.

2. This is a natural fruit and concomitant of a disposition to lie. The Chinese are most consummate thieves in all the walks of life. But their special glory—their every day pastime—is to steal pigs, coal, wood, money, clothes, chickens. Within this range they are perfectly at home. They are the most adroit chicken thieves in the world. Only a few months since, the good people of my old home, Sacramento, were treated to a practical illustration of this point, which is so good that—though many of you have read it—I must relate it. Domestic poultry had disappeared so rapidly for a season, that the people resorted to the measure of removing their remaining fowls to a new locality each night; in the common roost, in a close coop, in the barn,

in the cellar, etc. But "John" was equal to the occasion. One morning about two o'clock—it was very dark—a policeman passing along a street in the Chinese settlement, heard, as he thought, a rooster crow on the roof of a house. The place attracted his attention, and he cautiously reconnoitered. He soon discovered a Chinaman standing up against a chimney on the top of a house, and watched him. It was not long before the Chinaman, peering into the dark in various directions, and finding, as he supposed the "coast clear," stepped slightly away from the chimney, slapped his arms against his sides, and crowed so very like a cock that the head of a flock in a neighboring roost

ANSWERED WITH A REAL CROW,

then another, farther off, hearing him, responded; and others more distant still took up the refrain, until every gallant chanticleer, for miles around, had given oral testimony to the elegance of his manners. "But what has all that to do with Chinese stealing," you ask. Just this; the thieves knew the neighborhoods, even the premises where the chickens were kept, but did not know the particular spot where the owners had secreted them. The programme was this, a dozen or two of them, more or less, were each with a dark lantern stationed in different portions of the town, in neighborhoods where chickens were known to be kept. The cocks that "fell in" to the chorus, whose keynote was given by the Chinaman on the house-top, unwittingly disclosed to the watching thieves the exact places where they and their families had been secreted for the night, and thus enabled the thieves to easily secure and carry them to Chinatown, to give cheer to empty stomachs.

Many people think that Chinamen are par-excellently honest. And the superficial observer will find many evidences to confirm such belief, so skillful are they in deception. But he who observes with constancy and care, looking through the act to the motive, will find that Chinese honesty is prompted by that canonized maxim of Confucius, uttered more than five hundred years before the birth of Christ:

“ HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.”

He is honest, if at all, not because it is morally right to be honest and morally wrong to be dishonest, but because it secures to him who practices it the greatest personal prosperity. Perhaps no maxim or motto ever stated by man is, or can be, better calculated to deceive. Purely sordid in every feature, it is so nearly like a divine utterance, that multitudes of good people really think it a precept of Holy Writ.

### 3. They are treacherous!

“ Treason and murder ever keep together ;  
As two yoke-devils sworn to either’s purpose.”

“ By heaven there’s treason in his aspect!  
That cheerless gloom, those eyes that pore on earth,  
That bended body, and those folded arms,  
Are indications of a tortured mind,  
And blazon equal villainy and shame.”

No amount or long continuance of benefaction, no greatness or fullness of favor, no riches of gifts, or exhibition of confidence, can secure from the Chinaman’s treachery. The case of the Chinese lad in Oakland is fresh—all too fresh—in your minds.  
After

### MANY YEARS OF FOSTERING CARE,

a care scarcely exceeded by that bestowed upon their children, and exercise of a confidence that admitted no human fidelity to be superior to that of the Chinese, while the man and his wife and their children were in unconscious slumber, at two o’clock in the morning this fostered Chinaman arose, took a hatchet, and for the sake of a sum of money brought into the house the day before, crept into the room of the best of friends and cleft the skull of every one of them, secured the money, and by the aid of his fellow countrymen baffled every effort of our most skillful detectives, and has to the present hour eluded pursuit. And this same young fiend incarnate has, very possibly, by professing Christianity, dispensing with his queue, and donning American attire, become so disguised that he cannot be recognized, and is to-

day in care of the children, or the chamber, in some one of your families, and while receiving your caresses, only waits the opportunity to treat you and your dear ones as he did his former benefactors.

4. They are inhuman. They have never yet, in any considerable numbers, inhabited a country where they could hope to escape detection and failed to repeat, as often as occasion occurred, what has several times been repeated in San Francisco, when a sick and helpless mother of 80 years has been carried at night out to the pavement, or the vacant lot, or the merciless sea beach, and left there to die.

5. They are

#### BEASTLY IN THEIR HABITS.

I refer you to the Chinese quarters in San Francisco, where they not only herd together like goats in a pen, or pigs in a sty, but actually pack themselves at night like sardines in a box. In a single room only 6x12 feet, there were found the other night twenty Chinese in their accustomed lodgings.

6. They are lawless. They have no regard for law but as a force. They never seem to regard law as a means of mutual protection, the guardian of equal rights, but simply as a terror, to be avoided in every possible way.

7. They are heartless. Whatever they may possess of desirable characteristics, affection is not one of them. I do not mean by this, merely, that they are destitute of personal regard, but they are utterly heartless, with reference to every body and every thing but self. It matters not to the Chinaman that the very life of the poor widow and her orphan children depends upon the pittance she receives for her daily toil over the wash-board and the hot ironing table, he will underbid her in price, undermine and destroy her business, and see her go starving to a pauper's grave, and her children sent as beggars on the street, without manifesting the slightest emotion beyond a single exultant grin.

In a country where he has been received with more favor than in any other on earth, and which affords him a hundred-fold

## BETTER FACILITIES FOR LEGITIMATE ACCUMULATION

than any other, he at once enters upon and persistently follows a course to supplant in business those who welcomed him to their land, and to drive from the field of competition every honest toiler in every honorable pursuit. The gaunt forms, and hollow cheeks, and sunken eyes, and trembling frames, of starving men and women—starving because they cannot live on the rodents and insects which satisfy him, and hence cannot bid as low for work, and hence cannot get work to do, do not move him in the least. The fact that he is getting money, with which to return to his native land and live at ease, is enough for him. If there is a being on earth above the brute in intellect, and yet below him in heart and feeling, it is the Chinaman, as he exhibits himself on these Pacific shores.

8. He is an oppressor, a slave dealer and slave holder of the worst class. He holds in bondage and compels to the most exhausting and debasing servitude his own people—those of his own nation, color, and blood. More, and worse than all, he buys and sells, as chattels, and treats worse than dogs,

## THE WOMEN OF HIS OWN HOUSEHOLD;

not unfrequently the mothers of his own children. A few months since, at midnight, the train from Virginia City, Nev., arrived at Reno, where it transfers passengers and their baggage to the overland train bound West. During the interval, before the arrival of the train from the East, the baggage was placed in the baggage-room. In a few minutes the man in charge was startled by a stifled moaning, which appeared to come from the pile of newly-received baggage. Being a somewhat nervous man, he sprang to the door and shouted "Police," and was answered by the man on guard. They were soon satisfied that the noise came from a certain box, which they tumbled out upon the platform and opened, finding therein a China woman. The investigation, conducted by myself, developed these facts:—

A Chinaman, living at Auburn, Cal., had been to Virginia City and bought a woman, of a firm who dealt in that "line of goods,"

and acting upon the proverbial sharpness of his race, in order to beat the railroad company out of her fare, drugged her with opium, packed her in shavings—she was in her bridal dress—in a dry goods box, and had the box checked as his baggage, averring, most earnestly, that it contained “nothing but his wearing apparel.” All worked well until the box, when tumbled into the room, was so left that the woman was head downward, which soon caused the moaning. When she was released life was nearly extinct, though she was finally resuscitated. I said they treated their women

#### WORSE THAN BRUTES.

Now if this Chinese bride had been a hog or a dog, or any other brute, her box would have been left so open that the contents would be known, and life not endangered by placing her heels upward. If the slave trade ever had a worse form, if heartlessness was ever more inhuman, if brutality was ever more brutal, I confess that I have read history to little purpose.

9. They are exclusive. They utterly refuse to assimilate. They never become homogeneous with any other people. They look upon us as barbarians. They really think that we are seeking to improve ourselves by contact with their superior civilization. They, among themselves, call us fools for allowing them to come here and dig and carry off our gold—and I think they are right in that—and they think we dare not resist them.

But whatever may occur, they persistently adhere to all the rites and ceremonies of their debasing forms of religion; all the false and degrading forms of their own legal codes; all their immoral disregard of the decencies of domestic and social life.

10. They are rebellious. They never obey the laws of the land except as force compels them. They establish and

#### MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECRET TRIBUNALS

entirely evasive of our laws, and in defiance of our constitutional rights. There is not a man in the city of San Francisco, intelligent upon the subject, who is not perfectly satisfied that Chinese laws, subversive of ours, and Chinese courts, in contempt of ours,

have arrested, tried, convicted, and punished—even with death at times—men and women, in that city, every day, for years. And the shrewdness and sagacity of the Chinese are so much superior to that of our detectives, that the latter have never been able to prove against the former, the guilt of his persistent daily transactions.

I confess that these ten counts, constitute a terrible indictment, to read against a man or people. And yet while every word of it is true, the aggregate would be at least ten-fold worse if all the truth was told.

Now, fellow-citizens, the question, not for California, not for the Pacific Coast, but for this great nation to settle is, are such characteristics desirable elements in American institutions? Can they be made to affiliate with, or in any way promote American civilization?

It is not pertinent to rejoin, here, that the Chinese afford us cheap labor, and as laborers, are of great financial benefit to the country, a proposition extensively promulgated, and generally admitted by

#### SUPERFICIAL OBSERVERS AND ILLOGICAL THINKERS;

and yet, as I propose to show you before I am through, entirely baseless in truth; for though it were true it is outweighed a thousand fold by the consideration, that the presence of the Chinese has a resistless tendency to degrade labor (the noblest business this side of Heaven), to pollute morals, to destroy virtue among our people.

Cheap labor compels poor living, miserable homes, and want of education, a general sinking of the people toward barbarism. It is well paid labor that gives a people true growth and permanent prosperity. No nation on earth can afford to employ cheap labor. Better for its future, that its children should suffer every material want, than that cheap labor should drag them, gradually but surely, down to the mere status of tools.

The moment you, by reducing wages below a rate that shall give the laborer and his family a good living, and the children a

good education, you detract from the self-respect of the laborer and the means of securing that greatest gift of God to man, the comforts of a home. And the moment you interfere with, and reduce the comforts of the home-life of the honest, self-sacrificing laborer, among any people, you strike to the heart, you draw the life blood of that people.

It is in the homes of the people, the laborers, with muscle and brain, and tongue and pen, that habits are formed, crystalizing into character; that great wakeful interests are generated, developed, perfected;

#### THAT THE FIRES OF PATRIOTISM

are kindled; and free institutions nursed into life and permanence.

The Chinese do not bring their wives and children with them. They neither have homes nor the means of making homes, at the prices for which they labor. And if white people labor at the same pay, which they must, or not get the work to do, they must do as the Chinese do. And can this people or any other people afford to have "cheap labor" with such consequences.

And how do the Chinese live? They consume less food and of poorer quality than any other people in the land; they occupy less house-room, and wear less clothing; they occupy and lodge in quarters that are more offensive than an ordinary stable; and conduct themselves in such a manner that they would disgrace any domestic arrangements voluntarily made by any class of brutes. They herd together in such a manner, and indulge in such practices, as to

#### POLLUTE THE WHOLE ATMOSPHERE

of their quarters, in the heart of the city; and if they were any other people, of any other nation—even our own Americans—they would be declared a public nuisance; which the city authorities would be legally called upon to forthwith abate. Now bear in mind that just in proportion as you cheapen labor toward the average of Chinese wages, you force your own people toward the Chinese mode of living! Can you afford it?

Go with me to a Chinese lodging house, in San Francisco, and you shall see, in a room 14x20 feet, thick with the fumes of opium and tobacco, mingled with an indescribable combination of stenchful odors, sixty Chinamen, snoring the night away, on as many shelves. What a glorious home, in which to cultivate an enlightened civilization, and plant the germs of free institutions.

I beg to ask any one of the intelligent ladies and gentlemen here present, any student of political economy, any enlightened statesman in the land, if any possible material prosperity, can compensate for the reduction of our own people to such a state of existence. Better that our whole land were sunk to the bottom of the sea.

I call you to witness, and every intelligent and candid one of you will testify, that

#### THE CHINESE ANTOGONIZE US

at every point. The ideas, the principles, the habits, the institutions that we love and cherish, they hate and labor to destroy.

After more than a quarter of a century among us, under the most favorable circumstances, they fail to show the first step toward assimilation, or the least desire to become Americans.

In view of the universally admitted fact, that no two distinct and antagonistic races, can successfully occupy the same country in common, at the same time, I assert without hesitation that the Chinese have no claims to a joint occupancy of our land, with native born and adopted American citizens.

It was stated in the early part of this address, as one of the good traits of Chinese character, that they have perseverance, very largely developed. How does that effect the question at issue? Thus! It leads him to "never give up" voluntarily, or until compelled to, a colonization enterprise.

With his avaricious eye once fixed on a land, as the field of his future operations, he moves unhesitatingly, determinedly, unceasingly, irresistibly to the work of driving out the possessors of that land, and filling it with Chinamen,

The history of the world verifies this statement. And if America successfully resists and saves herself, she will be the first.

Their operations

#### IN THE PHILLIPPINE ISLANDS

is a case in point. This group of 1200 islands, in the Indian Archipelago, and aggregating something over 200,000 square miles and populated now with 5,000,000 of people, lying within the tropics, and having soil and climate of the highest excellence, was discovered by Magellan, in 1521, and soon after passed to the control of the Spanish government. The genial climate, abundant streams of water, and extreme fertility of soil, as soon as known, excited the cupidity of the Chinese, and they at once flocked there, in vast numbers; and as they always do, in total disregard of right, began efforts to drive out the lawful inhabitants.

This they, then as now, did under the plea that they only wanted "an opportunity to earn a living."

After long and patient endurance, of the blighting curse, the people in 1603 obtained a royal decree, that "the Chinese must go." You see, the slogan did not originate on the Sand Lots. But they refused, and suffered the penalty; 25,000 of them being slaughtered in a single massacre. Only two years later, in 1605, they had largely supplied the places of the slain; the government decreed that they should be allowed to reside on the islands, to the number of 6,000 only, that each should pay an annual tax of eight dollars, and that none should follow any avocation but the tilling of the soil. To all this they readily assented, but paid no sort of attention to the stipulation; and in a few years had again,

LIKE THE LOCUSTS OF EGYPT, FILLED THE LAND.

In 1639 they numbered 40,000 and were rapidly multiplying. Again the government ordered them to leave, on pain of death, but they, except 7,000 refused to go, and 33,000 of them were massacred. But their numbers were so rapidly filled up from

China, that in 1662 they threatened to overthrow the Spanish government and to inaugurate one of their own; whereupon they were again ordered to leave. But they refused, and were slain to the last man.

In 1673, the Spanish government sent out one of its Secretaries to examine, and report upon the "Chinese Question," as the American Congress sent a committee to this coast for the same purpose, a few months ago. This is a portion of what that secretary reported to his government, officially. Of the Chinese he says, as translated from the Spanish.

"They are irreclaimable in their heathenism, and utterly refuse to assimilate with our people. Their strong bond of

#### CLANNISH UNION

enables them to crush out competition. They monopolize all trades and commerce. They impoverish the country, gleaning everywhere and sending their earnings to China. They undermine and ruin labor of all kinds; because they live on less, and hence can work for less than our people, and then follow their gains to China, making room for still more hungry swarms in our midst."

Remember, this was written 206 years ago, about the Chinese, on the opposite side of the globe; and tell me where is the pen that can more graphically, more truly state their course and its results, as now enacting in our midst?

The government was aroused by this report, and for a term of years, seemed to be checking the inflow. But in 1709 they had again so multiplied and became so arrogant, as to excite conflict, resulting in the massacre of their entire number. In 1759, their numbers having become greater than ever before, they were again ordered to "leave," which many thousands did; those who refused being hung. The people then thought the work was accomplished. But very soon, quietly, stealthily, they began to return in such numbers that in 1775 Senor Anda, the Viceroy, ordered that every Chinaman found on the islands, after a certain day should be hanged; and it was done. In 1819 they had become

more numerous and more obnoxious than ever, and were again all massacred.

After these numerous attempts at relief by slaughter, the barbarous and un-Christian mode was abandoned; and the imposition of onerous and burdensome taxes was resorted to. But this proved equally futile, and in the short space of sixty years, they have

#### MULTIPLIED IN NUMBERS,

undermined and absorbed every lucrative pursuit, and to-day virtually hold the government in their own hands, and the righteous rulers at their mercy.

Jagor, epitomizing this case, says: "The Chinese in the Philippines, as they do everywhere, remain true to their customs and mode of living. No nation can equal them in perseverance, adroitness, cunning and skill, in mercantile matters. When once they gain a footing, they appropriate the best part of everything to their own advancement. All over external India they have dislodged, from every field of employment, not only the native population, but even their European competitors. \* \* \* The emigration from the too thickly populated Empire, numbering fully one-third of the human family, has scarcely begun. As yet, it is but the small stream. It will, ere long, pour over all the tropical and sub-tropical countries of the earth, in one mighty torrent, sweeping, and swallowing up everything in its course." This is the testimony and these the deductions, of the great German traveler and philosopher, Jagor.

A few years since, when Chinese labor, in our country was confined to domestic service, and a few of the simpler forms of industry, it was common to hear our people say "If Americans, enlightened Americans, cannot successfully compete with the poor 'heathen Chinee' they ought to go to the wall." Our eastern friends caught up and re-echoed the sentiment, until now the English speaking world, repeat it as though it were an oracle.

But I beg to suggest that there is some good sense,

## SOME SOUND PHILOSOPHY

in the proposition, that if my enemy will injure me when once in my house, rather than "go to the wall," I should, if I can, keep him out.

In 1844, the first treaty between the United States and China was ratified. But it granted no rights or privileges to the Chinese, so far as emigration to our country is concerned. Nevertheless, they soon came; in such numbers, and in so quiet a way, that when our people, in 1876, began to really awake to a sense of the situation, they counted more than 100,000. And upon a review of the ratio of their increase, for twenty years preceding that time, in four periods of five years each; the first period, 1855-1859, the average increase was 4,530 per annum; the second 6,600, the third 9,311, the fourth 13,000. An annual increase for twenty years of about ten per cent per annum.

The Congressional Committee recently here, show, from the statistics they gathered, that there cannot be less than 150,000 Chinese in the Pacific States and Territories. It is therefore evident, that if the inflow is not checked, the Chinamen on the Pacific slope, will, in a very few years, outnumber all our other adult male population. They now almost equal our voting population.

Under present regulations,

## THE TIDE OF IMMIGRATION

is certain to increase. They number 500,000,000, and are so crowded that every quarter section, of one hundred and sixty acres, in their vast empire, mountain, lake and desert included, is called upon to sustain seventy-five persons. Their wages range, for a day, of twelve to fourteen hours, from ten to twenty cents. Here, for a day of ten hours, they get from one to two dollars. In other words, here the means of financial prosperity are ten times as great as there.

They can spare 50,000,000 and be only the better off. They can pay the passage of 50,000,000, to our shores at twelve dollars each, the price at which multitudes have been brought, easier,

cheaper than they can maintain them, in pauperism there, for a single year. And they have often had to aid more than that number, to keep them from starving.

If, therefore, their indomitable perseverance never abandons an attempt to colonize a country, and if they have 50,000,000 of surplus population, and can send them here cheaper than they can maintain them there, and they will be ten times as well off here as they could there, and if

#### THEIR TERRIBLE EXPERIENCE

in the Philippine islands has but energized their efforts and brought them triumphantly through a 300 years' struggle, where in all common sense, where, I ask, is the reason for hoping that their immigration will undergo any other modification than rapid increase until we compel it to stop.

The people of all other nations change their homes when they come here. They come here to Americanize and to be Americanized; to learn our political economy, to conform to our humane laws, and to share in the blessings of our free institutions. No matter that he comes from Celtic bogs where roasted potatoes are a luxury, or Teutonic marshes where raw limpets are his daily food, or from Gallic cliffs where soup and frogs form his living, the emigrant has not been on our shores six months before he eats "roast beef" like an Englishman, and wears broadcloth like a Parisian.

There is not a prouder man on earth, and he never saw a prouder day, and no other hour of that day was so full of noble swelling pride, as when the great-brained Teuton, or sagacious Gaul, or intelligent, warm-hearted, patriotic Celt, puts in his pocket the papers that declare him an "American citizen."

To this the Mongol is a natural, a practical antipode. He wants nothing but our money. Give him that and he is content, though his getting it should rob the widow and the orphan of the means of life.

Do you know that a new church has recently been organized in California, and that it has, within the last three years, made

and enrolled a vast number of converts to the doctrine of "self-protection." And what has been the preaching? and who the preachers? The Chinese and cheap labor!! Analyze one of the sermons, thus: While the Chinese only dug our ditches, graded our railways, laundered our linen, confining themselves to

#### THE MENIAL CLASSES OF LABOR,

nobody but the so-called "mud-sills" of community were injured, and to their complaints the taunting jeer was returned, "Can't you compete with the miserable Chinaman?" The great agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants tossed their heads, and passed heedlessly on. By-and-by the Chinese tilled the soil and supplanted the "green grocer;" they manufactured cigars, boots, shoes, clothing, and a long line of other articles of daily consumption, financially ruining the white proprietors of such industries. This brought them to the "anxious seat," and after a time resulted in their conversion and baptism into the new church. But it was only when the Mandarins, the great commercial, mighty men of the East began to preach, that the "influential classes," that manage banks and expresses and ocean steamship lines, were brought to their knees, and cried in agony for that relief which the saving grace of "self-protection" alone can give. When they were converted and rose up and bore the cross, they had a mighty following, "in so much" that only 883 in all the land held out and opposed the good work.

A little more particular; on the first of October, 1878, the Chinese embassy wished a half a million of gold transferred from San Francisco to Washington. And while several of our banks were looking for the "job," a Chinese bank, already in blast at San Francisco, had forwarded the funds and pocketed the commissions. Our great Express Co., a noble institution, found the solution of a rapid shrinkage in its Asiatic business, in the fact that a Chinese Express Company was in operation,

#### UNDERBIDDING AND ROBBING

business in which they had invested hundreds of

thousands of dollars. The great steamship lines, in which many millions of American capital are invested, now learn, with dismay, that a Chinese Company of vast wealth is well advanced in the preparation of a trans-Pacific line of steamers, that will as surely run off and ruin the American lines, as a Chinaman will work for less wages and live at less expense than an American.

These are the several divisions and subdivisions of the great practical sermon, that has promoted the revival and led to the conversion of such vast numbers that the new church, that loves American life better than Chinese degradation, has just voted, 154,638 to 883, against the continuance of Chinese immigration.

Leaving, for the present, the legal relations we sustain to the Chinese who are here, there are great moral considerations which apply to them alone. In distinction from all others who come among us, they neither bring nor rear families, nor establish homes. In place of our great moral and social institutions, they maintain their gross immoralities and revel in

#### THE LOATHSOME ORGIES OF THEIR HEATHEN IDOLATRIES.

Instead of co-operating with us in building civil and religious freedom, they antagonize us at every point, and use all their powers to undermine and subvert our prosperity, and rob us of our God-given heritage.

These characteristics and these courses of action, compel us to regard them as enemies to everything we hold dear in life. If the statements thus far made, and they are fully attested by facts, are a just basis of reflection, the conclusion is irresistible that without some means of modifying the inflow of their numbers, which has never yet been tried, our land will become theirs, and we their servants. For whatever numbers of them come, it is inevitable that we must Christianize them or they will heathenize us.

And which is more probable? While their numbers have been comparatively small, and ours great, we have made unceasing efforts for more than a quarter of a century to win them from their debasing idolatries to a pure morality and a holy religion.

And really what have we accomplished? I will not question that a few have been measurably Americanized and are

#### SINCERE BELIEVERS IN CHRISTIANITY.

And yet I solemnly aver, upon the most thorough and careful observation, and the best possible evidence, that for every one Christian we have gained from their ranks, they have utterly ruined the morals and led into infamous ways fifty of our sons and daughters.

An anomalous class has been developed in our midst, and the whole civilized world, standing aghast at the spectacle, with bated breath inquire, whence came, what generated this marauding race of hoodlums? None seems to know. I will answer—the Chinese have done it. Thus: Twenty years ago hundreds of our families thought it “the nicest thing in the world” to have a Chinese domestic “to take care of the baby.” And that same nurse, by constant repetition of acts, not words, in the presence of the child, as it grew up instilled into its mind a total disregard of the Bible and its teachings, the Sabbath and the sanctuary, moral law and domestic virtue.

These boys and girls, learning vastly more from their heathenish nurses than from their parents—and the work which they ought to have had to do, suited to their capacities, being monopolized by the Chinese—have grown up a brood of lawless vagabonds, more

#### DESTRUCTIVE OF MORAL VIRTUE,

more poisonous to a pure Christianity, more threatening to the life of the American republic than all other evil influences that ever brooded over our land. Think as you will, the fact is, we are largely indebted to-day to the influence of these Chinese servants and monopolizers of labor in our families and our factories for this most fearful condition of our boys and girls.

I said I was the Chinaman’s friend, and I am. I desire to see him elevated from his deep moral degradation and converted to a pure and holy Christianity. But in China, his native home, this

work can be done for him at far less expense of time and labor than here. Experience has shown the labors of missionaries in China to be vastly more productive of conversions than similar labors among the Chinese here. Therefore let the work be done for them in China, their native home, and not allow them to come here and pollute our homes, corrupt our youth, and ruin our whole people, for the sake of the little good we may possibly do a few of them.

I am no theorist, I am no alarmist—much less am I a prophet—and yet after thirty years' careful study of this subject, I believe, as I believe in the existence of God, my Maker, that unless the immigration of the Chinese shall be virtually suppressed, they will, sooner or later, permeate every portion of our whole country, undermine and control every profitable industry, subvert and destroy all our free institutions, replace our sanctuaries with the temples of idolatry, and transform our land into the generator and hot-bed of every foul and unclean thing.

We have long heard

#### THE NOTES OF WARNING

about the “great battle of human liberty” that is to be fought on American soil, with one or another of its gigantic foes. But let others tell you what they may, I warn you here to-night that the great battle is not to be with the savages of our vast interior, not with the unutterable pollutions of Mormonism, not with the stealthy tread and indescribable woes of intemperance, not with the antiquated dogmas and haughty arrogance of the Romish hierarchy, but with Chinese heathenism.

This address has shown that the Chinese have never abandoned a thoroughly begun colonization enterprise; that no nation has, thus far, successfully resisted them; that they find our country more desirable than any other to which they have turned attention; that they can transport 50,000,000 to our shores cheaper than to maintain them a single twelve month in pauperism at home. This unfolds before us a broader, darker, more portentous pall than ever before appeared on our national horizon. It is a

cloud, livid with more terrific, ethereal fire, and muttering with more deafening thunder than ever before menaced our national life.

From the view we start back in terrified amazement, and exclaim with dismay,

IS THERE NO HELP,

no escape, no salvation for us? With confidence and with joy I answer, YES; there is a way, a sure, an effective remedy. It is not, however, in unlawfully maltreating those who are here. It is not in enacting and enforcing harsh or special or unreasonable laws against them. All such measures, in the future, as in the past, will prove worse than abortive.

The remedy is to check, to modify, to stop the immigration. The migratory habits of those now here will soon relieve us of any burdensome surplus. What we have to do is, and it is entirely feasible, for our treaty making power to secure such modification of our treaty relations that,

First—No greater number of American ports shall be open, and they shall be no more open to Chinese vessels or Chinese people than of Chinese ports to American vessels and American people.

Second—There shall no greater number of Chinese be allowed to land in American ports, or come upon American soil, in any one year, than there are of Americans who land at Chinese ports or go upon Chinese territory, in that same year.

Third—There shall no greater number of Chinese be allowed to reside or do business within the corporate limits of American towns and cities than there shall be, at the same time, of American citizens residing or doing business within the walls of Chinese towns and cities. These numbers can be adjusted by telegraph every day.

I submit to you and to a candid world that such arrangement would be nationally fair, nationally equitable, nationally honor-

able in the highest degree. It is all that any nation can reasonably ask. It is no more than any nation has a right to insist upon.

Fellow citizens, if you believe these facts, if you coincide with these views, if you adopt these sentiments, if you approve this remedial plan, preach it from your pulpits and your platforms; proclaim it by the wayside and through the press; teach it to your classes in the schools, and to your children in the domestic circle; write it to your Representatives and Senators in Congress; send your best speakers to enforce it at the national Capital and throughout every portion of your country, and give the heads of departments and the chief executive of the nation no rest, nor take repose yourselves, until these or equivalent provisions shall be ratified as statutory treaties between the two nations, and your own country saved from danger more fearful than if the combined armies of the earth were in hostile array against us.

Then, and only then, can our nation be secure in the enjoyment of her hard-earned and blood-bought blessings. Then and then only can she safely contemplate a future full of greatness, a greatness full of glory.

REV. O. C. WHEELER, D. D., LL. D.

DEAR SIR: At a large meeting held in the State Capitol, January 16, 1880, his Excellency, Gov. Geo. C. Perkins, presiding, and Capt. Gerard Briggs, Secretary. The following, offered by Hon. Geo. W. Tyler, was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting are due and are hereby tendered to the Rev. O. C. Wheeler for the very able and eloquent address he has delivered this evening upon the subject of Chinese immigration and its evils.

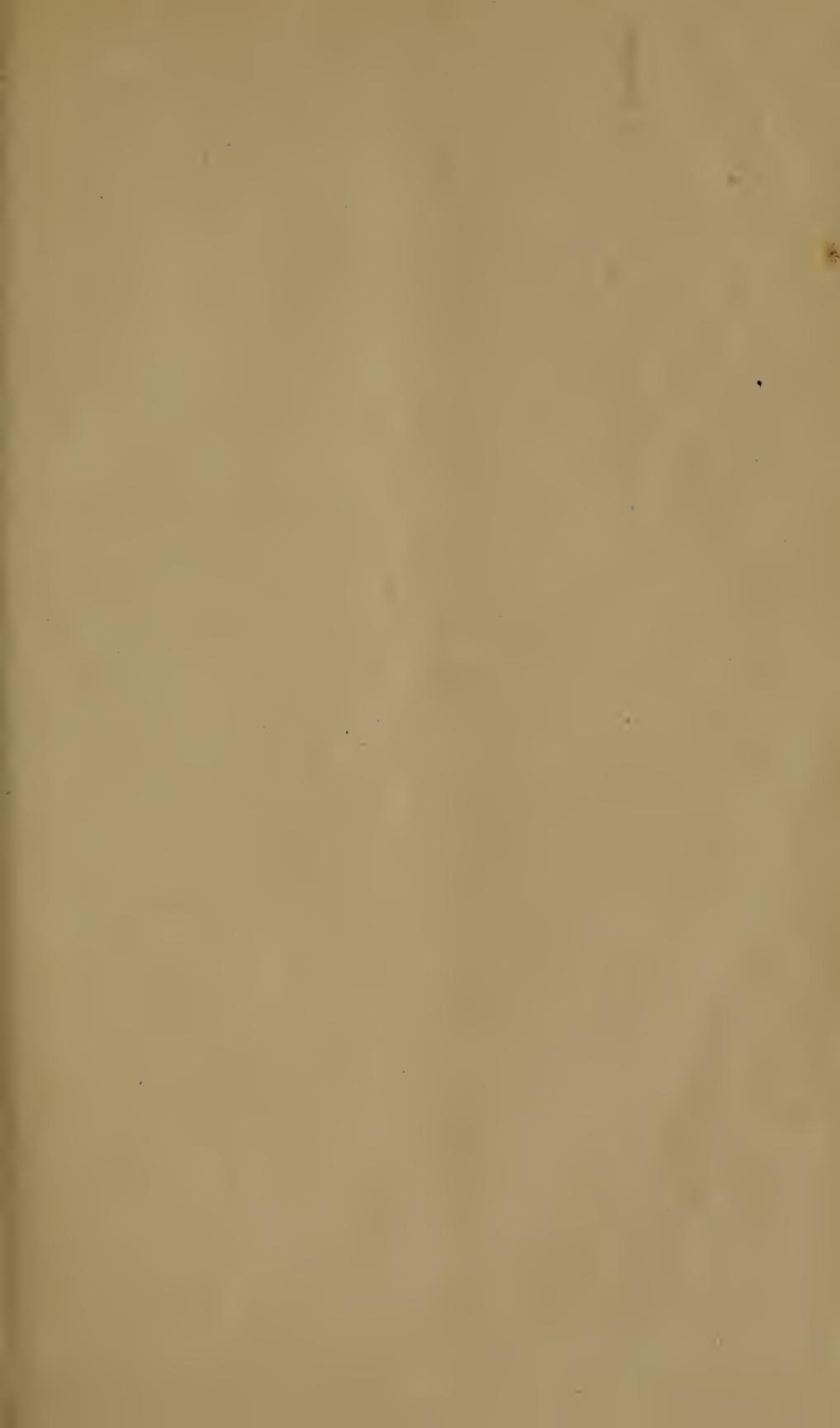
*Resolved*, That the Rev. O. C. Wheeler be and he hereby is requested to furnish a copy of his address for the purpose of publication, to the end that the same may be generally distributed, and especially among the members of Congress.













(CAL.)

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# THE CHINESE QUESTION.

*A Paper read before the Berkeley Club,*

*by JOHN H. BOALT,*

*August, 1877.*

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CAL.

## THE CHINESE QUESTION.

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**Two Non-Assimilating Races Never Yet Lived Together Harmoniously on the Same Soil  
Unless One of these Races was in a State of Servitude to the Other.**

I do not think that in the whole history of the world from the earliest ages down to the present day one single instance can be cited where this proposition has proved untrue. Of course since there are degrees in assimilation there are degrees in the antagonism caused by non-assimilation; and there may have been cases where this antagonism was less than in other cases. There may even have been cases where it has in time finally died out, but never, as far as I have been able to discover, has the antagonism ceased until the cause was removed, and in every instance the extent of the one has borne a definite proportion to the degree of the other.

By the assimilation of two races is meant, the bringing or coming together of the individual members of these races in such intimate association that there ceases to be any race separation between them, and the two finally become blended into one nation. It is the breaking down of all barriers of race and color and education and prejudice, the identification of interests, the acceptance of the same laws, the adoption of the same customs, and, in short, the admission of absolute equality as far as race is concerned, by all, for all, and among all, politically, morally and socially.

Without intimate social relations assimilation is impossible. The identity of business interests which has done and is doing so much else is powerless here. The Hebrews of Rome never became Italians; the Greeks of Constantinople never became Turks. But a drouth in Turkey injured the Greek as much as the Ottoman; and a season of plenty in Italy was as welcome to the Jew as the Gentile.

Assimilation is never complete until intermarriage is so frequent as no longer to excite comment. But this must be honorable marriage, and not concubinage, for marriage is evidence of respect as signifying a union with an equal, while concubinage is an indication of contempt, and has always been the unfailing companion of slavery.

It might perhaps be admitted that there never were on the face of the globe two races so utterly dissimilar and divergent that, if sufficient time and favorable occasion were given, they would not ultimately assimilate and coalesce; provided always that one of them did not exterminate the other before these soothing influences had had the opportunity to produce their effect. But when we recall how many centuries it required to assimilate and coalesce the Normans and Saxons, two nations of comparatively very slight divergence; when we recall the wars, the feuds, the dissensions, the barbarities, brutalities and suffering which England underwent before this process of fraternization was completed, it would certainly seem that in an extreme case of divergence as between extermination and this kind of reconciliation, the former were the more agreeable alternative.

It hardly seems necessary to seriously discuss the proposition that internal harmony is essential to a nation's prosperity and perpetuity. The problems of government are sufficiently vast and varied already, without adding to them this most difficult of all the tasks of statesmanship, the reconciliation of conflicting elements at home. The disintegration of empires has almost invariably followed the lines of non-assimilation, and no wise statesman would unnecessarily increase them.

We now come to the consideration of the causes of non-assimilation. This is not the proper place to discuss the question as to what have been the influences of country, climate, temperature, etc., etc., in separating men into different races, nor do I care now to enter into any examination as to how far the existing and differing types may be considered as the result of evolution from a common germ under different conditions of environment. Assuming this to be the case, however, it might be that some of these varying types have now reached a point of development

where the distance from the mother germ has become so great, and the individuality of the different types has become so distinct, that assimilation between them is now impossible, just as it has become impossible to graft one distinct fruit upon another and procure an enduring progeny.

I propose rather to restrict myself to the mention of a few of the more prominent causes of non-assimilation, selecting those whose workings are familiar to us all, either as matter of history or as well-known existing influences. First in order are:

1. PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES.—Why it is that certain peculiarities of face, form, and color attract us, while others repel, is a problem far too deep for this paper. It is enough that the fact exists; and its importance in this connection will be appreciated when we remember that assimilation is impossible without intimate and cordial social relations between the differing races, and frequent inter-marriage between their members.

Again, these physical peculiarities tend to make other and less important divergencies conspicuous, and in this and other ways are constantly operating to isolate the race possessing them from all other races. I am inclined to think that physical peculiarities which now pass unnoticed might, if a prejudice were aroused against them, ultimately result in the separation and isolation of new races and septs now unknown. For example, suppose that red-headed men were rigidly excluded from general society, and compelled to consort together; the result would be, that in a few generations we should have a red-headed sept. The auburn tinge would gradually disappear from our heads, while it would grow more and more pronounced on theirs, until, after aeons of ages, it might be, or at least it might be believed, that there were mental as well as physical differences between us.

Upon the whole, I doubt if there is any obstacle in the way of the fraternization of races so difficult to overcome as this one of physical peculiarities, and the prejudices, sometimes very idle and senseless, which are begotten of them. These marked differences in color and physiognomy will remain forever, unless gradually modified and softened down by the slow process of amalgamation. But there can be no amalgamation worth con-

sidering as long as the presence of these very peculiarities excites repulsion. So there would seem to be a dead lock.

2. INTELLECTUAL DIFFERENCES AND DIFFERENCES OF TEMPERAMENT. Precisely how much of these is to be referred to congenital peculiarities, and how much to education and circumstances of environment, it is, of course, difficult to determine. We say the Englishman is remarkable for his solidity, the Frenchman for his vivacity; that the German is thoughtful but lymphatic, the Spaniard grave but courteous; but how much of this is fancy and how much has a solid foundation, is a question hardly worthy enquiring into now. So much, however, is at least clear, that there are certain national peculiarities of disposition and habits of thought in the different races which exert a powerful influence in keeping them separate. It is true that history shows that these influences have generally lost their power after generations of contact and association. A civilized race will not assimilate with a barbarian race; but it may civilize the barbarian first, and assimilate with him afterwards.

Another interesting feature in this connection is, that in order to establish a complete sympathy between the members of different races, they must unite on the same ideal standard of excellence. It is not enough that the one imitates the other, for he may imitate without respect, or assume a resemblance for purposes of self interest. We are all struggling more or less earnestly toward an ideal. Our ideas of right and wrong are based on our conceptions of what our ideal would consider right or wrong. Of course we are but caricatures of that ideal. But whenever we meet with those whose standard is substantially the same as our own, we find that our aims are constantly converging. There is a subtle sympathy established between us, which enables us to unconsciously understand each other. I think, therefore, that this identity of ideal standards is one of the most powerful agents of conciliation. Men who worship the same heroes, and cherish the same aspirations, must, sooner or later, find themselves on the same plane.

Another important cause of non-assimilation is :

### 3. DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGE.

To these may be added differences in customs, dress, social peculiarities, local prejudices, and the like, all of which exert more or less influence in keeping up the separation of the races. That these differences may be gradually overcome by time and contact is, of course, true. But it may be worth while to remember that, after centuries of association, there still remains the old and apparently irrepressible conflict between the Indo-Germanic and the Sclavonic Races within the Empire of Austria.

Another, and common cause of non-assimilation, is :

### 4. HATRED ENGENDERED BY CONQUEST, OR BY CLASHING OF NATIONAL OR RACE INTERESTS.—

Examples of race antipathies from this cause will readily suggest themselves. From the very nature of the cause the antagonism created by it will naturally grow less with succeeding generations ; and instances are not wanting where it has finally died out altogether. But no species of national or race antagonism is so dangerous, so desperate, or so prolific of dissension and bloodshed while it lasts.

A fifth cause of non-assimilation is :

### 5. RELIGIOUS FANATICISM.—

No better evidence can be given of the power of this influence in keeping races separate than the fact that, in several instances, it has been able to reconcile races otherwise antagonistic. Next to physical peculiarities, it is probably the strongest of all the agencies we have so far considered. It would seem that it is not essential that a nation should be united in favor of a creed, as were the Mahomedans ; the same force is operating when the nation is united against a religion, as were the Chinese. The impossibility of assimilation, when this powerful force is working against it, may be seen to-day in British India. It is idle to expect fraternization among men of different races when one considers the bare touch of the other as an ineffaceable profanation.

Having now briefly considered some of the causes of non-assimilation, we can better understand the bitter antagonism which it has called forth.

Even if historical examples were wholly wanting, it seems to me that the principle might be deduced a priori; for the world is full of individual antagonisms. The struggle for existence, the competition for the prizes of life, is continually impinging us one upon the other. The baser passions of our nature, envy, jealousy, covetousness, hatred, are constantly stimulated by our own failures or our neighbor's successes. I can hardly be expected to look with equanimity upon my rival who has won, or rest complacently in the consciousness that I have lost. But these individual repulsions are largely counteracted by individual attractions. I do not love my competitor; but his brother is my friend, or his sister is my sweetheart. This man has done me a grievous wrong; but I condone his fault, not out of regard for him, but out of pity for his family, out of sympathy for his relatives. Thus do the ramifications of our social system protect us one against the other, and unite us with a bond elastic but strong, invisible but all-pervading.

But race antagonisms have no such counteracting influences. On the contrary, we are prone to generalize the fault of the individual culprit, and attach its stigma to the whole nation to which he belongs. A Chinese servant runs off with my spoons; I hasten to vociferate that all Chinamen will steal. An Indian horse-trader tells me a falsehood; I feel safe to say that no Indian ever told the truth. Worse than this, the sin committed against me is taken up by my race as a sin committed against our whole family, and individual crimes are thus catalogued into national grievances. This sort of race hostility is materially strengthened by a large class of men who find their principal scope for activity in keeping alive race feeling and fostering race enmities. It is a curious fact, that there are many men who are never so happy as when they can merge their own personalities in a great aggregate. They prefer to be fractions of a large integer rather than independent individual units. Thus I have known people who should be reckoned as Masons rather than as men, as Odd Fellows rather than as individuals. I have known others who were so completely absorbed and lost in a church that scarcely

the "nominis umbra" remained. To them the community is everything, the individual is nothing. Insult them and you may be forgiven, but insult their sept and you have committed an unpardonable sin. Lost in such a generalization, they become morbidly sensitive as to the community's honor, fretfully irritable as to its grievances, and inordinately jealous of its rivals or competitors. For such small cattle, they are capable of a great deal of harm.

I may now re-state the proposition with which I began and give it place as the major premise of my argument.

*Two non-assimilating races cannot live together harmoniously on the same soil unless one be in a state of servitude to the other.*

It is not necessary to say that slavery is in this country no longer possible.

We are now ready for the minor premise:

*The Caucasian and Mongolian races are non-assimilating races.*

For, first, they are separated by physical peculiarities of the most marked and distinctive character. The Chinaman differs from us in color, in features and in size. His contact excites in us, or at least in most of us, an unconquerable repulsion which it seems to me must ever prevent any intimate association or miscegenation of the races. To this must be added that the difference in physical peculiarities makes the more conspicuous the many and radical divergencies which otherwise exist.

Second, the two races are also separated by a remarkable divergence in intellectual character and disposition. Our habits of thought are so entirely different that it seems impossible that they should ever become reconciled.

Of the European immigration which comes, to us the Indo-Germanic races and even the Sclavonic races may be said to have in general about the same ideal standard of excellence as our own. As a consequence we have found that they readily assimilate with us and their national peculiarities and race distinctions soon die out and in a generation or two they become completely Americanized. But as far as we can judge, the ideal standard of

The Chinaman is constructed on an entirely different plan. His notions of right and wrong are in many respects totally unlike ours. His views in regard to the treatment of women are utterly repugnant to us. His heartlessness and inhumanity toward the infirm, the feeble and afflicted of his own race shock every sensibility of our nature. He is generally honest, it is true, but the most prominent Chinese merchant in San Francisco admitted that his race was honest simply because it was the best policy and for no other reason. Now a man who is honest from the mere force of logic, simply because honesty is generally the best policy, must inevitably be dishonest in the exceptional case when dishonesty is the best policy.

The two races are further separated by fundamental differences in language, in dress, in customs, in habits and social peculiarities and prejudices. In all these respects the Chinese differ from us more than any known race. Even their virtues are not the same as ours. While they are as a nation more apprehensive of danger than we and more selfish and cowardly in avoiding it, in the presence of death they display a rare intrepidity and yield up their lives with a courage which we should consider heroic in one of ourselves. They excel us in industry and economy but they are even more reckless and prodigal when they choose to indulge themselves. Those of their amusements which are innocent seem to us puerile; those which are vicious are even more vicious and degrading than our own.

It is notorious that women and children are regularly bought and sold in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco to-day, and that young girls are systematically imported from China, and held in slavery for purposes of prostitution, within calling distance of the City Hall.

A formal contract upon red paper, in which a young Chinese girl was bound to serve *with her body* a certain Chinese procuress for a term of years, was some time ago introduced in evidence in one of our Courts of justice, and having been first proved and authenticated, it was translated under oath by the Rev. Otis Gibson, and is now in the hands of the Hon. Horace F. Page, at Washington. By the terms of this instrument, this girl was

indentured to serve as a prostitute, just as formally and with as much precision and straightforwardness of language as we might use in apprenticing a girl to a milliner, and careful provision was made that she should serve an additional time to make up for any sickness resulting from her peculiar occupation. It is equally notorious that Chinese bravoes can be readily hired at prices which cannot, under the circumstances, be considered as exorbitant, who will undertake to maim, or even kill, any other Chinaman obnoxious to his employer. Murders are constantly occurring, which are clearly traceable to this cause, but although the perpetrators may be well known, they cannot be brought to justice, on account of the prevailing fear that any evidence against them will be visited with severe and speedy punishment.

In my own professional experience, I have repeatedly known cases where a Chinese witness would tell the truth to the attorney in the case, but utterly refuse to state it upon the stand. If he is nevertheless summoned, and called upon to testify in open Court, he avows his utter ignorance of the whole matter.

Prominent Chinese merchants are constantly complaining that a price has been set on their heads, and that their lives are in danger from their own countrymen, and in one case within my own knowledge a Chinese merchant paid a special policeman ten dollars per day for several days prior to the departure of the China steamer, to go about with him continually, and protect him from these hired assassins. Even while he was giving an elaborate supper at a Chinese restaurant to other merchants, he insisted that his guardian should be at the door and within easy call. It was noticeable in this case that the Chinaman was not afraid of any personal attack from his enemy himself, but rather from bravoes employed by that enemy.

But I do not wish to enlarge upon this portion of my subject. I have endeavored to confine myself to facts within my own knowledge, and they can easily be verified. The facts speak for themselves. Summing them all together, they simply amount to this: the Chinaman has brought China to America. Travelers have enabled us to understand what that is.

A population so dense as to be over-crowded, our Mongolian immigrants bring us all the evils of over-crowding. The China-

man in America cannot comprehend that there is plenty of space. He has formed a habit of making himself compact and economizing his room. A hundred Chinamen are quite content in a house not big enough for ten of our own race. Their type of a sleeping chamber is a sardine box. As a consequence, they have developed all the evils engendered by over-crowding and too close personal contact. At home, labor is so plentiful that it has lost some of its value. The struggle to support life is so hard and so engrossing that it leaves no time to elevate or glorify it. Selfishness rises to a science. Men come to disregard the pains and cares of others. "Individual Altroism" is even more unintelligible to them than it is to us. On the other hand, industry and economy are exalted, because the lack of them means starvation.

There is nothing in their religion or in their education to counteract or ameliorate these tendencies. Their religion is rationalism run to decay. Their education is principally directed to forms and ceremonies. In fact, their civilization is so ancient that it has become rotten.

Thus the Chinaman has brought to us and planted within our border all the vicious practices and evil tendencies of his home, aggravated somewhat, perhaps, by the circumstance that he has lost what little restraint his home government imposed upon him, without submitting to the restraint of ours.

I do not doubt that this condition of things might be very greatly improved by wise and careful legislation, and by steadfast and conscientious teaching. But we are not a nation of teachers, and there are millions of pupils ready to come. In the meantime, the deluge.

Again, assimilation is rendered more difficult in this case by the very fact that the Chinese are in their way a civilized and not a barbarous race. Barbarism is much more easily assimilated to and absorbed in civilization than is a divergent civilization. For the first lesson which the barbarian learns from his contact with civilization is that the civilized man can do more with less materials and in less time than he can himself. He sees that civilization is an advantage. He naturally seeks to acquire it for himself, and in acquiring it, he necessarily assimilates himself more or less to the race from which he learns it.

I never shall forget the time when I first became convinced of the truth of this proposition. Several years ago when the great eclipse of the sun occurred, which you all remember, I was living at Austin in the State of Nevada. I had just come out of my house with a piece of smoked glass in my hand when I noticed a Shoshonee Indian intently looking up into the sky. The day had been very bright. Suddenly an invisible veil seemed to cover the sun; a luminous pall fell upon the mountains and the valleys, softening the rugged outlines of the one and dimming the long distances of the other. Great vague shadows seemed to have dropped down into the cañons and gulches around us, where it had been dazzlingly bright but a moment before. Conscious of some great mystery, but utterly ignorant of its nature, the Indian stood with his eyes searching the cloudless sky. I handed him my bit of smoked glass and motioned to him to look at the sun. He did so, and when I asked him what he thought of it, he heaved a deep sigh and said, "Whitee man heap sabee." Continuing down the street with my bit of smoked glass still in my hand, I happened on a Chinese laundryman. I offered him my smoked glass, and advised him to look at the sun. But John only grinned complacently, and said, "Up my house got heap big tub water; you see 'em 'clip' heap better." I went home and got out my own tub of water and found that John was quite right. I could see the "clip" a heap better. I have always felt that I ought to have passed to John the laurels I had just undeservedly received and said, "Chinaman heap sabee." It seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, that in many branches of knowledge the Chinaman is as far advanced as we are, and it is precisely because he does not need our help that I think him less likely to adopt our ways.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, I desire to put in evidence the history of the Chinese in America, and more particularly in California, during the last twenty-five years. We are all tolerably familiar with it, and it seems to me conclusive on two points.

First—We cannot and will not assimilate with them.

Second—They have not the remotest inclination to assimilate with us.

If, then, we cannot live harmoniously together with the Chinese, the conclusion is sound that Chinese immigration should be prevented.

Of course, it is understood that my argument is not directed against the coming of a few individuals. It is rather against the vast hordes who can be spared there and who are ready to come here. It is not the present thousands of whom we complain. It is the future millions.

But I am met here with the argument that the prohibition of any kind of immigration whatsoever is contrary to the im-memorial policy of our republic and in the teeth of the most noble and memorable utterances of our fathers.

I take issue on both points.

It never was the policy of our republic to welcome to our shores a class of immigrants who could not or would not assimilate with our people, nor was it ever so declared.

It did so happen that until the Chinese invasion, the class of immigrants who came to our shores were, with one exception, welcome visitors. They were of races and nationalities with which we were in perfect concord and with whom we could readily assimilate. We needed them; they came, and twenty-five years after they came, almost all evidence of their foreign birth had disappeared. They had become thoroughly assimilated to us, and amalgamated with us, and were as much Americanized as if born on the soil.

But there was one exception. That exception was the African Negro. His coming was bitterly regretted by every one of our early statesmen who ever spoke of it. If you doubt this, examine the list of members of the African Colonization Society. The pages shine with eminent names. But the negro did come, and we just barely survived his coming. Is it worth while to repeat the mistake?

A strange notion seems to have become prevalent in the Eastern States that the opposition to Chinese immigration is mainly based upon the fact that the Chinese are gen-

erally more industrious and economical than ourselves. No less distinguished a writer than George W. Curtis has denounced the movement as a crusade against the two virtues of industry and economy. Perhaps some of the speeches made on this coast may have given color to such an imputation. But its falsity is readily seen when we consider that no one thinks of opposing Scandinavian immigration, although the Scandinavian is, as a general rule, full as industrious and economical as the Chinaman. But the Scandinavian is in sympathy with us. He readily accepts our government, our customs, our habits, and ways of life. In a few years he becomes as much of an American as ourselves, and his devotion to our soil and his attachment to our institutions is as warm as our own.

On the other hand, an immigration of Malay pirates would be full as objectionable as the present Chinese immigration, although the Malays have even less industry and economy than our own people. We want no race which we cannot absorb. Our best immigrants are those whose race distinctions are soonest obliterated.

I do not pretend to claim, however, that the opposition to Chinese immigration is not made more bitter and intense among our laboring classes because the coming of so many Chinese has a tendency to derange our labor market and bring about a reduction in wages. It would be very strange if it did not have this effect. We do not expect that a laborer will look with kindly feelings upon the man who takes the bread out of the mouth of his children, even when that man is his friend or neighbor. It is difficult enough at all times to curb the passions of men, who, while resisting a reduction in their wages, see their places taken by others willing to work for the price they have refused. It was not found an easy task last summer in the Eastern States. But the task is made very much more difficult when the newcomers are unwelcome strangers, alien in race, in color, in creed, in customs, and in everything but the power to work. This presents only another bar to the assimilation of the two races, and excites still other and very bitter and dangerous antagonisms between them. It is no argument to tell the American laborer that if he would live as the Chinaman lives he might subsist on the Chinaman's wages.

It has taken the Chinaman centuries to learn to live on so little. With the lapse of time his necessities have gradually accommodated themselves to his small earnings, until now very little suffices to procure him abundance. He has made a prodigious stride toward the ideal ration of a straw per day. Early education and constant habit have so led him to practice the closest economy, that economy has itself become a habit, and no longer involves self-denial. The world about him has graduated itself down to his standard. His butcher, his baker, his candlestick maker, his manufacturer, his merchant and his common carrier, have reduced their prices to suit his measure. The doctor who attends his sick, and the priest who buries his dead demand little because he gets little. Labor can afford to be cheap when everything else is cheap. But we cannot expect labor to be cheap when everything else is dear.

The Chinaman is what he is because of China; the American is what he is because of America. Under the circumstances there cannot be a fair competition between them. You cannot give the American laborer a long line of Chinese ancestors. You cannot give him hereditary tendencies and tastes, and instincts and capabilities which his birth never entitled him to. You cannot make him over on the Mongolian pattern, and give him a Chinese education.

The truth is, we have taught each other habits that are expensive. We have led each other to believe that it is a good thing to promote schools and educate children, to contribute to churches and give to hospitals, to eat clean food and wear clean clothes. We have encouraged each other to think that over-crowding leads to immorality, that plenty of air and sunlight are necessities of life, that our old and infirm must be properly cared for and kindly treated. Sickness compels expensive physicians, nurses and medicines, and death brings an expensive funeral. Our habits, customs and system of life are modeled upon this standard, and it is impossible to change it at once. Until it is changed, the Chinaman will always beat us in a competition where the frugal habits he learned in China are pitted against the habits we learned in America. Under the circum-

stances it is no more surprising that a Chinaman can live cheaper than an American than it is that a horse can.

But is it worth while to change our system? While there may be many defects in it, still does it not, upon the whole, work better than any system we know of? Suppose that we had an immigration of 100,000,000 of Chinamen; suppose that their industry and economy were applied to our land and every acre beneficited to its utmost; suppose that our productions were magnified until the possible height was reached—what then? Measured by acres, we should be much better off than we are now; but, measured by men, should we be any better off? Measured by the peace, prosperity, contentedness, cheerfulness, happiness of our people, should we have made any progress? I think not.

But I am asked how can this immigration be checked? The power to regulate commerce resides in the National Congress. Our Government has made a treaty with China in which the right to come here has been granted to her people. The Supreme Court of the United States has just decided that no State possesses the power of interfering with this immigration. All this is true.

But we have no right to assume that the National Congress will not do us justice. Perhaps their refusal to help us—I do not understand that they have as yet refused—is because they do not yet understand our grievance. There are many among ourselves who are still in favor of Chinese immigration. It has even been asserted, and prominent men and journals in the East have repeated it, that the opposition to Chinese immigration in California is confined to a few demagogues and discontented communists. As long as this is believed, there is little hope of anything being done.

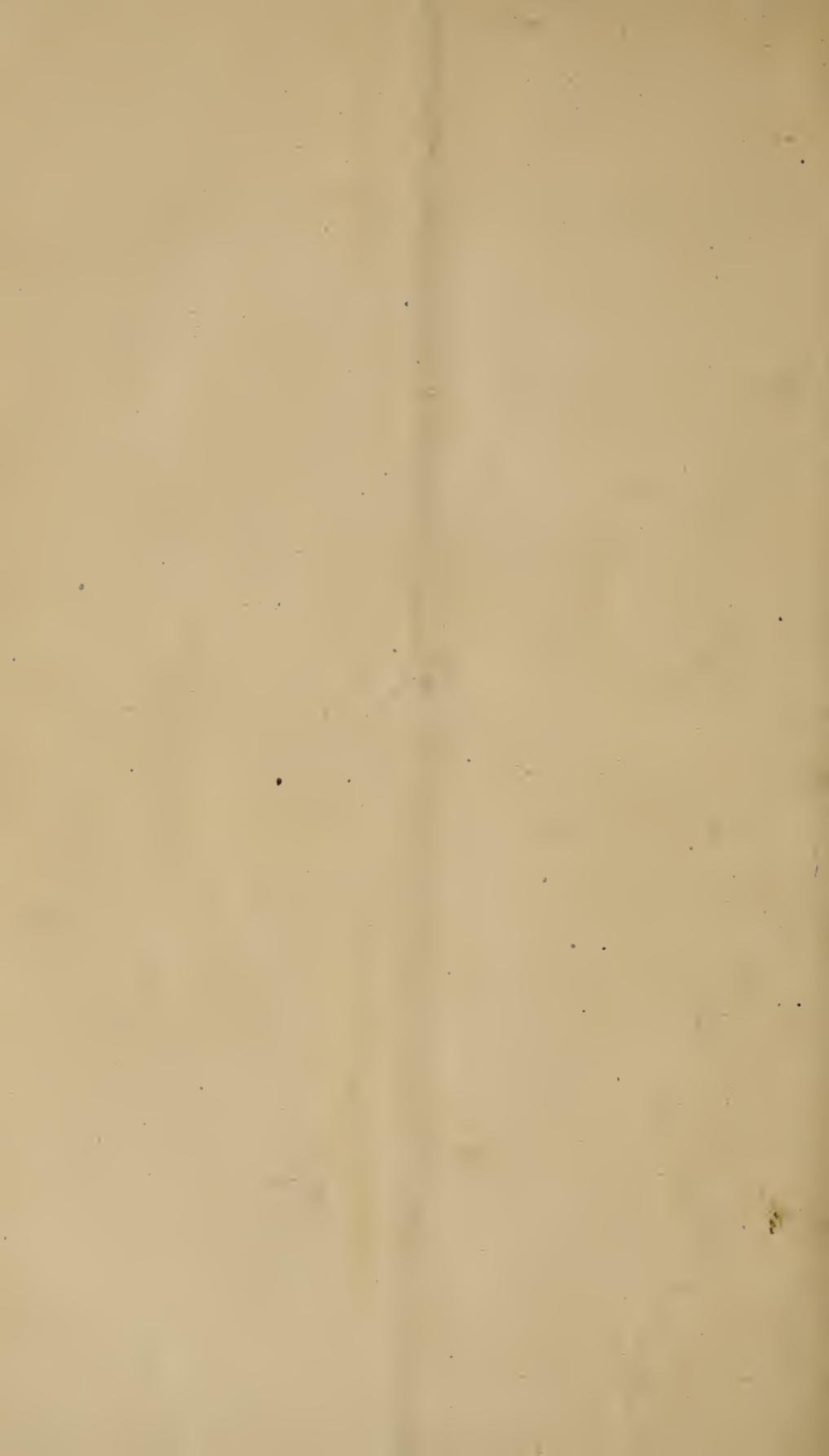
I, therefore, make this suggestion: Let the Legislature of California, at their next session, provide for taking the sense of the people of the State of California on the question of Chinese immigration, at a general election to be held for that purpose. Let them next request the Legislatures of the other Pacific States to adopt a similar measure. I may be mistaken, but I think that

vote would result in a showing of at least ten to one opposed to Chinese immigration.

Then let the Senators and Representatives from the Pacific Coast in Congress, armed with these credentials, say to their brethren of the East: "The people of the Pacific Coast have been so far the only people exposed to Chinese immigration. They are strongly and bitterly opposed to it. This vote is conclusive on that point. They now call upon you for relief. If they are wrong you can easily prove it. The treaty with China provides that the Chinese may enter all our ports, while we are restricted to five of theirs. Make this restriction mutual. Amend the treaty and confine the Chinese to the Atlantic ports. If this immigration suits you, you are welcome to it."

The proposal seems to me a fair one.





*Force & Skill*



OF THE



# Six Chinese Companies



AN ADDRESS TO THE SENATE AND  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE UNITED STATES.

TESTIMONY OF CALIFORNIA'S LEADING CITIZENS

BEFORE THE

*Joint Special Congressional Committee.*

READ AND JUDGE US.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 8th, 1877.

ALTA PRINT, 529 CALIFORNIA ST., S. F.



CAL.



# MEMORIAM

OF THE

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### READ AND JUDGE US.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 8th, 1877.



# MEMORIAL.

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To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America :

Your memorialists most respectfully represent to your honorable bodies—

That by joint action of the two Houses of Congress, during the month of July, 1876, a Special Committee was appointed "to investigate the character, extent and effect of Chinese immigration to this country, with power to visit the Pacific coast for that purpose, and to send for persons and papers, and to report at the next session of Congress."

The result of that investigation is now before you. Your memorialists most respectfully call your attention to the fact that by the magnanimous action of your Committee, the Chinese residents of this land were accorded a hearing, through their representatives, during the investigation. Therefore they claim the privilege to address to your honorable bodies this memorial, that they may bring to your notice the sworn testimony of prominent citizens—men of the highest standing, whose honesty, integrity and disinterestedness places their conclusions beyond the possibility of impeachment, in reference to "the extent and effect" of the immigration and residence of our people in this country.

Your memorialists desire to answer in detail the report of a portion of your Committee, by producing the testimony, thus challenging the correctness of that document and its conclusions. That as the representatives of this great Government you may become better acquainted with our people, to the end that the sentiments adopted by the respective nations in the treaty of 1844 may be adhered to or revoked :

"There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Ta Tsing Empire on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places."

Again reaffirming this pledge in 1858, wherein the United States bound themselves to treat our people resident here as they required your people resident in China, in these words :

“ There shall be, as there has always been, peace and friendship between the United States of America and the Ta Tsing Empire, and between their people respectively. They shall not insult and oppress each other for any trifling cause, so as to produce an estrangement between them ; and if any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively, the United States will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing their friendly feelings.”

It is under such solemn assurances that we are here.

Your memorialists would also call your attention to a memorial emanating from a Legislative Committee of the Senate of the State of California, appointed April 3, 1876. That Committee consisted of five Senators. The result and conclusions of that investigation has been brought to your notice by a printed memorial, for your information on “ The social, moral and political effect of Chinese immigration.”

We further desire to call your attention to the fact that the “ Chinese side of the question ” was not permitted to be heard, or a representative of our interest allowed us, whereby we were debarred from having a fair hearing in a matter of vital importance to us. Consequently that investigation was one wholly and entirely *ex parte*.

Your memorialists beg that you will examine with care the testimony we herein present to you, in direct contradiction to the report of that Committee, as well as the “ Address to the people of the United States,” embodied in the same publication.

Your memorialists would call your attention to the action of your honorable Committee, whereby we were permitted to be represented :

“ PALACE HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO, Wednesday, October 18, 1876.

“ The Joint Committee of the two Houses of Congress, to investigate the Chinese question, met this day pursuant to adjournment.

“ The following members of the Committee were present :

“ Mr. Morton (Chairman), Mr. Sargent, Mr. Piper and Mr. Meade.

“ Absent—Mr. Cooper and Mr. Willson.”

After debate it was

*Ordered*, That the representatives of the State Senate, officers of the Central and other Anti-Coolie Clubs ; officers or representatives of the municipality of San Francisco, also Messrs. F. A. Bee and B. S. Brooks, representing the Chinese Six Companies, and any officer of the said companies be requested to be present on Saturday, at 10 o’clock A. M., when the Committee will be ready to hear those who desire to be heard, the arguments to be confined to one hour each in length on either side of the question.

The result of the Congressional Committee's investigation is now before you, and embraces the testimony of one hundred and thirty witnesses, representing every class and every calling, and to quote from that report, which says :

" The testimony so taken covers over twelve hundred pages of printed matter, and embraces the views of all classes of the community, and every variety of interest. The committee found a great diversity of opinion, resulting from different standpoints of the witnesses who were examined."

And, referring to the classification of testimony, the report says :

" Although the subject by this means was pretty fully covered, and the inquiry, perhaps, exhausted, the conclusions to be drawn from the mass of testimony may be different to different minds. In the opinion of the committee it may be said that the resources of California and the Pacific Coast have been more rapidly developed with the cheap and docile labor of Chinese than they would have been without this element. So far as material prosperity is concerned, it cannot be doubted that the Pacific coast has been a great gainer."

The State Committee deny this conclusion of the Congressional Committee, and suppressed the testimony of many of their witnesses who held contrary views. On page 4 they quote the low order of Chinese who immigrate here, and claim that according to the castes into which they are divided, etc., etc. In refutation of this we quote their own witness.

S. Wells Williams, Secretary of Legation at Peking, and for forty-one years a resident of China (page 1245, Congressional report) says, in reference to caste and character :

" In these emigrants one sees a class of men, on the whole, above the average of their countrymen over the whole empire, especially in enterprise, ability to read their own language, and skill in mechanics. I consider the Cantonese as the superior portion of the Chinese race, at least superior to those of the northern provinces.

There is no caste among the Chinese, no privileged class or titled aristocracy on the one hand claiming rights over their serfs or slaves on the other, and, therefore, no power inheres in the hands of one portion of society to ship off their drones or their criminals, their paupers or their useless slaves, to other lands, and thus get rid of them.

Those who arrive in California are free men, poor, ignorant and uncivilized indeed, easily governed, and not disposed to make in any way, but hoping to get a good price for their labor."

Page 5, State Senate Committee report, says of servile labor contracts : " Ninety-nine one-hundredths of them are imported here \* \* \* to all intents are serfs."

Mr. Williams says, same page, Congressional report :

" 6th. I know nothing of the existence of any contracts made in China by which emigrants are shipped to America. I have never seen such a contract nor heard one described as containing stipulations by which one party bound himself to work for the other at certain wages for a specified time."

Rev. A. W. Loomis (evidence, page 445 Congressional report), of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, for eight years resident missionary in China, and fifteen years in California, says :

" Question—What class of Chinese people visit California ? They represent nearly all classes. There are merchants, a few scholars, artisans of nearly every description in their own country, farmers and gardeners, and common laborers. Far the largest portion are from the rural districts, accustomed to labor at home and expecting to labor while here. A large proportion of them are young men, with many mere boys. They are people who have been bred to industry, with economical habits. Not very many gentlemen of large means come to this country, but there are branches of large mercantile firms established here. No priests or teachers of religion or any of their religious sects have come to California as teachers. \* \* \* There are no coolies brought to California, nor do the six companies import their countrymen at all. All Chinese male emigrants to California are free."

Rev. Otis Gibson (evidence, page 404), connected with the Methodist Chinese Mission here for eight years, testified as follows :

" The Witness—After an experience of about twenty years among this people, I do not hesitate to express my opinion that in simple brain power and possibilities of culture, the Chinese race is equal to any other people in the world. They are capable of learning our language, laws, customs, principles of government, our theories and practices. We know nothing which the Chinese are incapable of learning. I believe the Chinese come here voluntarily in every case.

The Chairman—I should like to ask Dr. Gibson, from his knowledge of the Chinese population, what proportion of the whole number is under twenty-one years of age ?

Rev. Mr. Gibson—My statement would be only an approximation and a judgment. I think perhaps there may be a third of them under twenty-one, and a large proportion of the whole are under thirty. That would be my judgment from my observation among the people in this country. Not far from a third are under twenty-one. A Chinaman, in his reckoning, is always one year older than we would reckon him to be. According to their custom of reckoning he is a year old the day he is born. If he is born the last month of the year he is a year old when he is born, and when he comes to the new year, within five days, perhaps, of his birth, he is two years old; and so it goes on in that way.

The Chairman—Taking the real age, you think that about a third are under twenty-one ?

Rev. Mr. Gibson—About a third. Sixteen, seventeen, nineteen and twenty years of age is a common figure for a large number of the Chinamen in this country; and then from twenty to thirty, I think, there is a very large proportion.

The Chairman—How many of them are younger than eighteen ?

Rev. Mr. Gibson—That would be a much smaller per cent. There are a great many small boys, fourteen years of age, but in the whole population it would not be a very large percentage."

William N. Olmstead (evidence, page 828), a prominent merchant of this city, resident of China for eight years, connected with the well known firm of Oliphant, Son & Co., testified :

Those who come here come by their own free will and consent.

Q.—Are you acquainted with the Cantonese boat people, or river men ?  
A.—I have resided in Hong Kong, which is the chief port of Canton, 96 miles from Canton. I have staid in Canton.

Q.—Were you familiar with the inhabitants ? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you know anything about the river population there, who live and die in their boats ? A.—Yes, sir ; there is a very large floating population in Canton.

Q.—Is that population drawn upon to supply the immigrants who come to this State ? A.—I do not think so. I think there are very few of those Canton boatmen who come here. I think they come from the district adjacent to Canton, but I think these boat people remain there and attend to their avocation.

Q.—Have you mingled enough with the lower orders of Chinese there to observe them ? A.—I have observed them in my ordinary every day walks.

Q.—Are these men inveigled into coming here ? A.—I would consider that almost an impossibility.

Q.—Those who come here come by their free will and consent ? A.—The immigration laws in Hong Kong, our own consular laws, and our own laws ought certainly to put a stop to any immigration of the kind. I never heard of any instance in Hong Kong of force being used to put emigrants on board ship."

Trusting that the foregoing evidence as to the class and character of our people generally who have come to this country, and also, whether it has been free and voluntary immigration, we leave for you to decide.

Page 5, of State Senate Committee's report, refers to the degraded female Chinese who come to this country. Your memorialists are happy to say, that the action taken by the National Congress during 1875, has, from the time that the law took effect, entirely stopped this class of immigration. On the same page, reference is made to the small tax paid by the Chinese residents.

Space will not permit us to place before you all the wrongs our people have been subject to in the way of taxation, but we undertake to say, that no class of people resident in this Republican country would have quietly submitted for a long series of years, as our people have been compelled to submit, without strongly protesting in the name of justice and fair dealing. The Hon. B. S. Brooks, a distinguished lawyer, resident here for twenty-eight years, says in his " Brief on the Legislation and Adjudication Touching the Chinese Question," and referred to the Congressional Commission, says, in reference to those "outrageous laws," pages 90 and 91 :

"Take for instance, the law declared unconstitutional in the case of the State vs. S. S. Constitution ; (42 Cal., 578.) It was passed May 3d, 1852. It is not declared unconstitutional until January, 1872. The master never gives

a bond, or pays commutation money. He has received his passage money and performed his contract by bringing the passenger to San Francisco. Whether he is landed, or thrown overboard, does not concern the master; but the Chinaman to land, must pay the commutation tax, say \$10. 157,880 Chinese landed between these dates, and at \$10 a head, paid 1,578,800 dollars, which was illegally and unconstitutionally exacted from them by officers of the State, acting under color of its laws. The case of Lin Sing vs. Washburn, was decided in 1862. The foreign miner's tax of three to four dollars per month had been collected up to that time. It is difficult to tell how much it amounted to. There had been 87,048 arrivals. If half this number paid the tax for ten years, it would amount to \$31,337,280. It should be remembered that the Chinese that came here were nearly all adult males. And it is not consistent with human nature to suppose that the men who collected these taxes, being paid a liberal per cent upon the amount of collections, missed any of them; and some account should also be taken of the immense frauds perpetrated by pretended collectors, and double collections. Of the amount collected under the illegal laundry ordinance, we have not data. The poll tax collected to support schools, to which the Chinese have no access, is three dollars per year for each adult male, and it is claimed that there are 60,000 in this State. Of the amount extorted from them, under the torture of their religious faith by the Cue Ordinance, for no crime whatever, we have data which I have presented, and the process is still in progress. These laws—these five hundred cubic feet law, and the cue-cutting order—have not been held illegal."

In the City and County of San Francisco, Mr. Brooks says, they find on real and personal property taxes for fiscal year 1876-1877, the sum of \$58,374.20.

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NUMBER AND AMOUNT OF POLL TAX PAID BY THE CHINESE POPULATION  
IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO, DURING THE FIS-  
CAL YEARS OF

1874-1875:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1,260 \text{ at } \$2 = \$2,520 \\ 2,496 \text{ at } 3 = 7,488 \end{array} \right\}$  Total, 10,008

1875-1876:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 14,040 \text{ at } \$2 = \$28,080 \\ 4,562 \text{ at } 3 = 13,686 \end{array} \right\}$  Total, \$41,766

1876-1877:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 16,564 \text{ at } \$2 = \$33,128 \\ 2,791 \text{ at } 3 = 8,373 \end{array} \right\}$  Total, \$41,501

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TOTAL POLL TAX OF WHITE AND CHINESE DURING

1874-1875:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 43,522 \text{ at } \$2 = \$87,044 \\ 7,942 \text{ at } 3 = 23,826 \end{array} \right\}$  White

51,464                    \$110,870

1875-1876:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 34,439 \text{ at } \$2 = \$68,878 \\ 7,989 \text{ at } 3 = 23,967 \\ 21 \text{ at } 4 = 84 \end{array} \right\}$  Chinese.

42,449                    \$92,929

Mr. Sontag (Evidence, page 893 Congressional report) is Chief Deputy in License Collector's office:

Q. Have you any data to give to the commission as to the amount of licenses paid by the Chinese?—A. Yes, sir. [Producing a paper.] This is only an approximate, but is pretty nearly correct. The amount of license we collect from Chinese peddlers, who peddle fruits and vegetables in baskets suspended from a pole that they carry on their shoulders, is \$11,820 for this year.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. For how long a time?—A. That is for this year. We collect the licenses quarterly. Every three months we sell them a metallic tag showing the months for which the license is paid, which tag they put on their baskets. That is evidence to the police officers and license-officers that these men are duly licensed. We collect from store-keepers and persons who sell liquor, about \$3,000 a quarter—about \$12,000 a year in round numbers. I suppose it does not vary \$500 from that in a year.

Q. That makes \$23,000 or \$24,000 for the whole? A. Yes, sir; about \$24,000. There are five hundred and twenty-one store-keepers that we license.

A. Badlam (evidence Page 254), Assessor of the City and County of San Francisco.

Q. What proportion of real estate is owned in fee by Chinese?—A. It is very difficult to answer that question, because there is property that is owned by Chinese in town, some few pieces, and they leave the assessment in the names of white persons.

Q. It is not charged on the assessment roll?—A. They do not charge it, and they pay their taxes in some one else's name; but the real estate assessed to Chinamen does not, really, amount to anything. Perhaps \$100,000 will cover it.

Q. How is it about their personal property?—A. Their personal property was assessed this year in round figures at \$500,000, a little more than that.

Your memorialists beg leave to call your attention to the fact that all the foregoing taxes are paid in the City of San Francisco alone, and that not over one-third of our people are residents there, the same ratio of general taxation is paid by them throughout the State. We are taxed as we enter your gates and again as we pass out, *vide* the 42,449 Poll Tax is paid by 30,000 individuals.

Again we refer to the State Senate Committee's report, Page 5, which says: "And in addition to this alarming fact, we find that "of the one hundred and eighty millions, if not more, earned by "them during their continuance here, the whole is abstracted from "the State and exported to China, thus absolutely impoverishing "instead of enriching the country affording them an asylum."

After a close examination of the testimony taken by that Committee, we fail to find the least data to substantiate this "alarming fact," and in answer beg leave to call your attention to the following editorial from the *Commercial Herald*, of November 29th, 1877, the recognized commercial paper of the Pacific Coast:

## THE CHINESE QUESTION AGAIN.

When we catch a person telling lies to make us believe he is stating facts we are very apt to credit him with bad motives. For some time past it has been bandied about the halls of Congress, and circulated among the credulous of Eastern cities, that the Chinese laborers in California have abstracted from the money wealth of this State not less than *one hundred and eighty millions of dollars*, while they have contributed *nothing* to the State or National wealth. This foul and singularly mendacious statement is to be found in a circular issued as an address to the people of the United States by a Committee of a former California Legislature. Its falsity is easily demonstrated. Prior to the inauguration of steamship communication between this port and China—seven years ago only—the facilities for Chinese immigration were comparatively very limited, and for the maintenance of regular intercourse between those in this country and their people at home, they were still scarcer and more irregular; consequently, there could have been *no* considerable exportation of money to China by our Chinese residents. The whole number of Chinese in California at any time did not exceed 90,000, and to credit them with having “abstracted” \$180,000,000 from this State is to allow \$2,000 remittance for each individual. Anterior to 1854 the Chinese among us were by no means numerous, but allowing that as many were then here as are now, it follows that when it is assumed or intimated that each laborer among them has accumulated a surplus of \$2,000 in but a few years, it must be confessed that they surpass many other people in thrift, economy and other valuable qualities that go to make a desirable population. Many of them however, are not laborers, but merchants and men engaged in manufactures, etc., who must be deducted from the general statement of the circular in question. It is only since steamship intercourse became regular between China and San Francisco that our imports from and exports to that country have acquired a leading position in our mercantile transactions, and from 1849 to the present time the grand total of the precious metals sent to China in payment for her commodities does not exceed \$60,000,000. It is, therefore, supreme folly to assert that 90,000 Chinese—yielding the point that they are all *laborers*—have forwarded \$120,000,000 more in the same time than was shipped to equalize the entire Chinese commerce with California and the Pacific States and Territories. It is also an insult to the common sense of every intelligent man in the nation. The Legislative circular—which should bring a blush of shame upon the cheeks of its authors—furthermore alleges that “the Chinese have contributed *nothing* to the State or National wealth.” We challenge anything like honest refutation of the statement that had it not been for “Chinese cheap labor,” California would to-day be very far below the condition of prosperity and advancement she can now boast of possessing. Through its agency we have built up industry upon industry, and established the manufacture of many articles for which we would otherwise be dependent upon outside sources of supply. It was largely through that agency that railroad communications have been had with the East, and have laced a large portion of this State, by means of which Caucasian immigration has been induced, immense tracts laid open to settlement, numerous farms brought under tillage, flourishing towns started where formerly the coyote and prairie dog held sole occupation, and the hum of thrift and industry has succeeded the silence of the desert. Have these things contributed *nothing* to the State and national wealth? But the venom of their charge is that the Chinese send their surplus earnings *out of the country*. It is clear that they must have worked for that money to earn it, and as it is their own lawful property they have as much right to do with it as they please, as the Irish immigrants had and have to transmit millions upon millions during the past fifty years in one unbroken stream, to bring their poorer relatives to a land of greater opportunities and larger personal, religious and political freedom; and certainly were quite as justifiable in so

doing, as the Irish have been in collecting very large sums to inaugurate a war against a friendly country with which we have the closest commercial and other relations. It has been estimated that within the past ten years over two hundred millions of dollars have been taken out of this country and lavished in Europe by rich American travelers, but who has charged any of those people with having committed a gross impropriety for such reasons? This raid upon the Chinese was first commenced by the servant girl faction. It did not exist when in 1856 the Chinese were invited to take a prominent part in celebrating the Fourth of July. Before Chinese servants were received into families the monthly wages paid to girls ranged from thirty-five to ninety dollars per month, and people of moderate means could not afford to engage in wedlock with the faintest hope of going to housekeeping. That which at first was little more than a "tempest in a teapot" was eagerly availed of by partisan hucksters, and used by unscrupulous newspapers, to acquire a very questionable popularity among certain classes. The proofs of these statements abound on all sides, and one of the most convincing is found in the malicious, one sided, *ex parte*, and illogical contents of the Legislative circular from which we have quoted.

We might, with propriety, leave our case in your hands right here; but we propose to make you better acquainted with our people, and let you be the judges in this controversy.

Page 6, State Senate report, you will find the following in reference to Christianity and missionary work:

The pious anticipations that the influence of Christianity upon the Chinese would be salutary, have proved unsubstantial and vain. Among one hundred and twenty-five thousand of them, with a residence here beneath the elevating influences of Christian precept and example, and with the zealous labors of earnest Christian teachers, and the liberal expenditure of ecclesiastical revenues, *we have no evidence of a single genuine conversion to Christianity.*

Rev. Frederick E. Shearer (Evidence; page 631 Congressional report):

By Mr. BEE:

Question. Whom do you represent?—Answer. I represent an association of Presbyterian ministers of San Francisco and vicinity. I am the stated clerk of the Presbytery of San Francisco, and the Synod of the Pacific.

Q. Have you a statement there which you wish to present to the commission?—A. I have.

Mr. BEE. Please read it.

We have now an organized church of Chinese only, into which 187 have been received. In the place of worship two Sabbath-schools are held, and an average of 150 receive instruction every Sunday. There are 59 more Chinese communicants connected with various American churches in our denomination alone. Five of these were recently received into the church at San Leandro, and eight into the church at Los Angeles. Our mission work has grown until we have been obliged to appoint for it three Americans, all speaking the Chinese language; and to establish branch missions in Sacramento, San Jose and Los Angeles. Connected with these missions are seven other Americans and several native teachers. We have also found it necessary to erect a home for reclaiming and sheltering the fallen women and instructing them in household arts. During the last year more than \$2,400 was contributed—all from this coast—and mostly in small sums, and eighteen women received into this home. Several have made Christian profession, married, and are now leading commendable lives.

Connected with seventeen of our American churches we have schools, in which nearly 1,200 are receiving instruction in the English language and Christian religion. Hundreds of these have renounced idolatry and become interested students of Christianity. Some of them are connected with an undenominational Chinese Young Men's Christian Association in this city, which now numbers about 1,000 members, and in which only those who formally renounce idolatry can become or remain members.

Rev. John Francis (Evidence, page 484 Congressional report) :

By Mr. BEE :

Question. You have been in charge of the mission-schools here?—Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. State to the commission your experience while you have been in charge in educating the Chinese, how long you have been, and what sect you represent.—A. The Baptist. I received an appointment as Chinese missionary by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society about five years since, and have continued, excepting a short interval of a few months, up to the present time, and am still engaged as a missionary in this city. Our mission has been located on Washington Street.

Q. How many converts have you had?—A. We have baptized about fifteen in connection with this mission here.

Q. Do you have a day-school?—A. Our school is always in the evening, from six to nine o'clock every evening.

Q. How many scholars are in attendance?—A. We have had 100 pupils, and about six teachers.

Rev. A. W. Loomis (Evidence, page 1117 Appendix). Annual Report Presbyterian Mission of California:

#### REPORT.

All the departments of missionary labor have been continued as they were reported a year ago, and others have been added.

#### THE MISSION CHURCH.

This has increased in number; 18 having been added since February 1, 1874, of whom 17 were received on profession of faith. Besides those received into the church in San Francisco, four, the fruits of the branch mission in Sacramento, were baptized and enrolled as members of the Presbyterian church in that city; also, in San Jose four were baptized and received into membership in the Presbyterian church in that place, the fruits of our branch mission there. In Marysville, one was baptized by one of the missionaries while on a visit to that city, and two by the pastor of the Presbyterian church of that place. They are enrolled as members of that church. These, with one formerly baptized at North San Juan, are fruits of missionary labor and of colporteur work in that portion of the State.

Appendix, page 1176, Congressional report :

DEAR BROTHER: Yours of the 12th, asking for a statement of my experience with our Chinese church-members, is before me.

Seven of the members of the First Baptist Church of Oakland are Chinese. More than half of this number have sustained this relation for nearly two years.

Appendix, page 1173:

PACIFIC GROVE RETREAT, MONTEREY BAY, {  
San Francisco, Oct. 12, 1876.

DEAR BROTHER: The Chinese who have been baptized and received into

the church in connection with this mission will compare quite favorably, on the whole, with the members of Methodist churches composed of other nationalities, as to steadfastness, consistency, advance in knowledge, and growth in grace.

They are apparently sincere, and I think few, if any, have joined the church from selfish motives.

Some of them make considerable sacrifice for Christ's sake, and some have endured persecution even to blows.

Of the forty five baptized by me, one woman has been turned out of the church, because she married a man who has a wife living in China.

One man returned to China, and by his friends and relatives was enticed or forced to deny the faith, and has been expelled. One man living in a Roman Catholic family was induced to leave us, and professed to become a Roman Catholic, but in about one year's time he came back with tears of hearty contrition and asked to be re-admitted. He was received.

One or two of the members of my church are worldly, and give me much anxiety and trouble. One woman, whose husband is not a Christian, has been induced to attend the theater once or twice.

With these exceptions, the Chinese members of my church are making commendable progress in Christian knowledge and experience.

Yours truly,

Rev. Dr. LOOMIS.

O. GIBSON.

We have been told that in American courts the rule of evidence is, that if a witness has been found incorrect in the statement of *some* facts, his whole testimony can be impeached. But in this case, your memorialists are charitable enough to assume that the State Senate Committee were debarred from obtaining this evidence from natural causes.

Page 7, State Senate Committee's report :

During their entire settlement in California they have never adapted themselves to our habits, modes of dress, or our educational system, have never learned the sanctity of an oath, never desired to become citizens, or to perform the duties of citizenship.

The injustice of this extract becomes apparent when it is undeniable that State laws have been passed, and are now in force, denying us the privilege of your educational institutions. And we regret to say that the Congress of the United States quite recently debarred our people from becoming citizens; and they add that :

The evidence demonstrates beyond cavil that nearly the entire immigration consists of the lowest orders of the Chinese people, and mainly of those having no homes or occupations on the land, but living in boats on the rivers, especially those in the vicinity of Canton.

It would seem to be a necessary consequence, flowing from this class of immigration, that a large proportion of criminals should be found among it; and this deduction is abundantly sustained by the facts before us, for of five hundred and forty-five of the foreign criminals in our State Prison, one hundred and ninety-eight are Chinese—nearly two-fifths of the whole—while our jails and reformatories swarm with the lower grade of malefactors. \* \* \* The Chinese in California are all adults. They are not men of families. \* \* \*

The State of California has a population variously estimated at from seven hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand, of which one hundred and twenty-five thousand are Chinese.

California has a voting population of 155,000. We apprehend that no sane person will claim that the adult white foreign population number over 125,000. But it is asserted boldly by the State Senate Committee that there are 125,000 adult Chinamen in California, and one hundred and ninety-eight are inmates of our State Prison, against *three hundred and forty-seven white foreign criminals*. Comment is unnecessary. Yet it might be of interest to select two races of foreign immigrants resident here, say the Irish and Chinese, and compare the commitments of the two classes. The United States census, 1860 and 1870, gives the number of Irish in California, ten years of age and over, 53,452, 35,000 adults (estimate). Chinese, by Customs returns, 95,000. And we find that from 1860 to 1873, twelve years, there were committed to the State Prison 711 natives of Ireland and 750 natives of China. "While our jails and reformatories swarm with the lower grade of malefactors," say the State Senate Committee.

Rev. Otis Gibson (evidence, page 403), Congressional report:

The official reports of the Industrial School for the year ending July 1, 1875, give :

Total number .....	225
Chinese.....	4

The Alms House official report for the same time, ending July 1, 1875, the only one that I had access to :

Total number .....	498
Native born .....	143
From Ireland .....	197
Chinese.....	none

The hospital report for the same time :

Total number .....	3,918
Natives of the United States .....	1,112
Born in Ireland .....	1,308
Born in China .....	11

One hundred and eighteen Irishmen to one Chinaman is the way the Chinese are filling our hospitals.

The pest house report, which is the Chinese hospital, for the same time gives : Total number, 22 ; Chinese, none.

Your memorialists desire at your hands a careful examination of the foregoing evidence in contradiction to the *ex parte* memorial presented to you as facts.

We desire further to say in reference to other crimes charged against our people: 1st. That we never had organized or secret tribunals to administer justice in this country; many of our mis-

understandings and difficulties we have settled among ourselves in the way of arbitration. 2d. That there is not nor has there ever been one of our countrymen brought here under a servile labor contract. Neither is there a single coolie or "serf" within the boundary of this fair and free land. 3d. The Chinese Six Companies never brought or caused to be brought one of their countrymen to this land under or by any servile or labor contract, verbal or in writing, or in any way binding upon in any manner one of our countrymen or any member. Page after page of testimony uncontradicted will be found to sustain these assertions in the report of your committee.

We now most respectfully ask at your hands a careful study of the evidence presented in the following pages that you may judge us, and if we, by our deportment, are entitled to a place in this broad land after twenty-four years' trial. Let your judgment be based upon the Christian's Golden Rule. And your memorialists will ever pray.

# **AN ADDRESS**

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

UPON

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA

---

SWORN TESTIMONY

OF

CALIFORNIA'S LEADING CITIZENS

---

READ AND JUDGE

---

SAN FRANCISCO, December, 1877

Extracts from the opening argument of F. A. Bee, before the Joint Special Committee of Congress, pages 36 and 37:

And now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee, in these few words I have sketched to the committee the outlines or the pedigree of this so-called Chinese question. You are here as a court of inquiry. A demand has been made for the modification or the complete abrogation of our treaty relations with China. It is charged that the Chinese residents among us are like a cancer, gradually eating into our vitals, breeding disease, corrupting the morals of our youth, monopolizing the labor of the country, and bringing desolation throughout our fair land. It is openly advocated that it is far better to close the doors of trade and commerce, abrogate all treaty relations between the two countries, rather than endure or foster this so-called evil. If those charges are proved true to your satisfaction, it would be well to inquire who sought this alliance. Was it the Chinese Empire? By no means. The Government of the United States fairly forced the present relations upon the Government of China. First, to break down the exclusiveness of that government we send a fleet of war-ships, and obtain a few concessions. Later, we negotiate a treaty which opens up the whole country to the trade and commerce of our people.

It is under these solemn treaty obligations that the Chinese immigrant has been brought to our shores, opened up the riches of China to our merchant marine, dotted the ocean with our merchant ships, and maintained a line of steamships which is a pride to every American citizen. All these advantages we are willing to forego, and why? Because this great empire, of boundless extent, whose shores are washed by two oceans, three thousand miles apart, is invaded by 150,000 honest toilers. The great State of California, sufficient to support 10,000,000 people, is threatened with destruction because, during a period of 24 years, 150,000 Chinese have come here, and by willing industry have contributed largely to her present standing and wealth.

Let us see under what circumstances he comes and how he is received in this free and enlightened republic—the land of the free and oppressed. I regret exceedingly, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, to bring to your attention scenes and acts which have transpired upon the streets of this city, which are a disgrace to any and all civilization. No country, no government, I undertake to say, on the face of God's footstool, has ever permitted the indignities to be cast upon any race of people that the government and municipality of San Francisco and the State of California have permitted upon this class of people. I want to picture to you in what manner we receive these people. I have seen, myself, one of the Pacific mail-steamships hauled into the dock here in this city, loaded, probably, with a thousand or fifteen hundred of these people. I have seen them loaded into express-wagons to be taken to the Chinese quarter. What I say has been seen by thousands of our citizens. I have seen them stoned from the time they passed out of the ship, rocks thrown at them, until they reached Kearny street. I have seen them leaning over the sides of the wagons with their scalps cut open. I have seen them stoned when going afoot from the steamships. No arrests were made; no police interfered. I do not recollect, within my knowledge, (I may be wrong in an instance or two) of ever an arrest being made when these street hoodlums and Arabs attacked these people on their landing here. It does not stop there. There are portions of this city, and I say it with shame, where none of these people dare frequent. There are portions of the city of San Francisco where these Chinamen dare not visit.

\* \* \* I say it with shame, that these people have no privileges. They do not seem to have extended to them the protection of the law in any particular. When a Chinaman lands upon this coast he seeks for work. He comes here as a laborer. He comes here for the purpose of bettering his condition. He comes here a law-abiding citizen. We shall show upon this investigation that the Chinese residents of this city and of the State of California compare favorably, and, I think, are the peers of any foreign population which comes here, in their appreciation of the laws and usages of the country. Everything has been done for a series of years to persecute and oppress these people. Acts have been passed which are a disgrace to our civilization.

\* \* \*

Extracts from the opening address of Benjamin S. Brooks, Esq.,  
pages 51 and 55, Congressional report:

I have lived here from the beginning of the American occupation. I came here in 1849 with my family, and with my family I have resided here ever since. I have seen San Francisco grow up from a few tents and adobe houses to a great commercial city. I have seen this State grow up. I love the city and love the State. I love it as any man loves his native land. I love her prosperity. Everything that touches it interests me. It is for that reason that when I was at the East and read the memorial which was presented to the Congress of the United States by the representative of these emigrants, demanding legislation for them, my indignation was excited, and I wrote a reply to it, which I sent to the Committee on Foreign relations of the United

States Senate. In that paper I answered each of the charges which was made against these people. I did that at no man's solicitation. I did it simply as a Californian and as a man.

The Almighty has blessed us beyond all other people. He has placed in our hands the means of prosperity and happiness greater than any other people ever had. I feel as if we were throwing away this great prosperity, as if we were casting back in the face of the Almighty the gifts which he presented to us; that we are throwing back upon Him His bounty with scorn and seeking to destroy the foundations of the prosperity of our State and its great and glorious future.

It is, therefore, that I take my stand here, not for the Chinaman, but for the State of California and her people, and ask that they may be heard.

They do not march in these torch-light processions; they never go to these mass-meetings. During the day they are at their counters and about their business, following their trades, working upon their farms. At night they are at home with their families; but if you pass through these streets, day or night, you will see thousands of idle people—people who, if you offer them work, will ask you all sorts of conditions: "Where is it; how is it; what is it; when is it; shall I have this; shall I have that; shall I have the other thing." They dictate terms to you, and these must be just so and so; otherwise they will stay as they are. They walk along these streets, and if there is an excavation for a building being made they will throng the side-walks, and if there is a dog-fight more of them gather together.

But I do not agree with my friend, Senator Sargent, on that proposition. I believe if a poll of the State were taken on this question to day it would be overwhelmingly against his proposition and in favor of the immigration of Chinese. I have taken some little pains to inform myself upon this matter. It has got to be a sort of a hobby with me. Whenever I meet a man I ask him what he thinks about the Chinese question. But the two political parties are divided almost equally here, and every year when an election comes around, if anybody has an ax to grind, people can band together in a labor union or any other association and dictate terms to any candidate. There are just enough of such people to carry the elections one way or the other; and however conscientious a man may be, he scruples to sacrifice the interests of his party on such a question. Thus both candidates will pledge themselves to vote in favor of an eight-hour law, although both candidates really believe that such a law is the worst possible thing for the laboring man. Yet, if the candidate does not pledge himself for it, the whole labor-union will go against his party. If the question should be distinctly presented to the people of the State, "Shall we stop the importation of Chinese labor?" I think they would say at once, "No." I believe there would be an almost unanimous cry in the negative. \* \* \*

The Chairman. Do you mean to be understood as saying that the anti-Chinese sentiment in this State is confined chiefly to the idle and floating population?

Mr. Brooks. Yes, sir; and more than that—to the foreign population—to the Irish. I have tried, gentlemen, to procure a list of the members of every anti-coolie club in this city. I have sent a man for that purpose to demand a list. The lists were made out, but upon consultation with one member of the committee, as I was informed, they refused to give them to me; but I got one, and here it is (producing a paper).

If you will read the list of names there you will find out that nearly every one of them is an Irishman, and I have no doubt you will find the same if you will take the other lists, I hope you will bring the secretaries before you and make them produce their lists, and I will prove by the poll-lists of the city that they are not native-born Americans, and that they do not represent the American sentiment.

\* \* \* The legislation was aimed at the Chinese, but the Legislature was ashamed to avow it. There was legislation against the foreign miner generally, but it was enforced only against the Chinese. There was legisla-

tion against houses of prostitution generally, but it was enforced only against the Chinese. The 500 cubic feet of air law was against all persons, but it was enforced only against the Chinese. The ordinance to cut off the hair was in terms applied to all, but intended for nothing on earth but to touch the Chinese in their religion—in their tenderest feelings. I will not go through all the topics of legislation. The laundry ordinance was of the same kind ; the basket ordinance was of the same kind. There has been this continued legislation against the Chinese. Then, when some of them had been here a number of years, thinking they might safely do it, went to get naturalized, and there was a general movement in that direction, because the idea got abroad that they might be naturalized. You know very well that some of our people applied immediately and urgently to Congress, and at the last session you amended the act so as to exclude them from naturalization.

Would any white man on earth go to a country when treated in that way ? Would he buy a homestead, and bring there his wife and family ? Is that the way we are to get the China trade ? Is that the way we are to have these people domiciled among us ? When you look at the history of these people from the beginning down to this day, it is a wonder that they even stay here ; and it is no wonder at all that they do not bring their families here.

That we have not overstated this case, we beg to refer briefly to the testimony of our representative citizens, men of the highest standing, judges, lawyers, physicians, farmers, artisans, capitalists, bankers, and divines.

Geo. D. Roberts, sworn and examined, page 436, Congressional report :

By Mr. BEE :

Question. You are the president, manager, or main officer of the Tide-Land Reclamation Company ?—Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been a resident of this State ?—A. I arrived here in 1850.

Q. You have been engaged in business enterprises since that time to develop the interests of this coast, I believe ?—A. Always.

Q. How much tule-land has your company reclaimed ?—A. The Tide-Land Company proper started in with 120,000 acres. They have been reclaiming portions of it, but not on a large scale, until recently. I suppose we have partially reclaimed 30,000 or 40,000 acres.

Q. Will you explain to the commission what you mean by tule-lands ?—A. We call the overflowed lands forming a delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin River, tule-lands, and also lands on the margin of the river farther up.

Q. What do you mean by the reclamation of those lands ? What kind of work is it ?—A. Building dikes, gates, and ditches, preventing the overflow.

Q. What species of labor have you been employing ?—A. Generally Chinamen.

By Mr. BEE :

Q. Does this class of labor conflict with white labor ?—A. I cannot see that it does. We could not do the work at all with white labor in this State at present.

Q. These lands have lain vacant for 25 years ?—A. Yes, sir ; they have been of no value at all.

Q. Some of those lands have been reclaimed and crops are now raised upon them ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What will an acre of this land produce ?—A. We consider fifty bushels of wheat to the acre about an average crop. I have raised as high as ninety-two bushels of wheat, by actual measurement.

Q. That land would have lain idle until you could have got it reclaimed by labor ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you believe that the tendency of the Chinese laboring classes of this country is detrimental to white labor ?—A. Possibly, to a certain class of white labor; but, to the general prosperity of the country, I think they are a great advantage. I think they fill the places that white labor would fill very reluctantly, and it would be a long time before we could get white labor to do it. I think the wealth they produce stimulates prosperity to such an extent that it gives white men higher positions. I do not think the presence of Chinese here affects the price of intelligent labor. It is possible there may be a class of labor that is affected by it, but to sustain that class of labor alone, we would have to hold back the enterprise of the country.

Q. They have added materially, then, to the wealth of California, in your opinion ?—A. In my opinion the aggregate product of the wealth produced by Chinamen in this State is equal to our mines, including the mines of Nevada and Dakotah. Probably they produce sixty, eighty, or ninety millions a year in wealth.

Q. Do the Chinese purchase lands or rent lands, to your knowledge ?—A. Yes, sir; occasionally; not to any very great extent, but more so recently than formerly. There is a disposition among them now to turn their attention to farming. They think it a more quiet life; they get out of the excitement of the city. Many of them have rented patches, and are paying \$25 and \$30 a year per acre for lands.

By Senator COOPER :

Q. Twenty-five dollars and thirty dollars a year ?—A. Yes, sir; pretty near all the sweet potatoes you get here are raised by Chinamen, on Grand Island and in that neighborhood.

By Senator SARGENT :

Q. It is alleged that these men came under contract of service, voluntary contracts, but a species of slavery. The question I desire to ask is, whether, because they do come like that, and that they work in droves, and contract through one man, does not account for the efficiency of their labor ?—A. I think that is a mistake; that there is nothing of that kind at all. I find my Chinamen entirely independent of the bosses. When the bosses do not pay them they come to me. If the boss does not pay them any wages they tie him up and call on us. That has been the case in several instances. I find that each man has his account, and he holds the boss responsible.

Q. Are these bosses Chinese ?—A. They are Chinese.

Page 504 Congressional report :

Solomon Heydenfeldt sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE :

Question. How long have you resided in California ?—Answer. Nearly twenty-seven years.

Q. Were you at one time Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of this State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many years did you keep that position ?—A. Five years.

Q. You are conversant with the various institutions of California, mining, manufacturing and farming ?—A. Tolerably, sir; practically from observation, etc.

Q. And with the Chinese question, and legislation in reference to it ?—A. I have been an observer of what has been going on for the last twenty-seven years.

Q. The committee are here to get information. I should like to have you detail your information as to the facts, if any, since the Chinese advent to California.—A. I think California owes its prosperity very much indeed to the industry of the Chinese who have come to this country. I think without them we would not have our harbor filled with ships; we would not have had railroads crossing our mountains, and we would have been behind, probably, a great number of years. I think we would not have had as many white people here if the Chinese had not come.

Q. You think, then, that the Chinese who are among us have conducted to bring white people here and give white people homes and employment.—A. I do.

Q. As to the construction of this new railroad, the Southern Pacific, which is some 400 miles in length, would that have been built but for the Chinese, in your opinion?—A. I think not; and I have been assured so by those who are interested in completing it.

Q. It has opened a vast territory of farming land to the immigration of this State?—A. It has.

Q. Do you think that the benefits of the Chinese among us have been widespread?—A. I do.

Q. How do you look upon the Chinese, as a class, for honesty, integrity, etc.?—A. I think they are the best laboring class we have among us.

Q. Do you think they compare favorably with other laboring classes?—A. I think they are the best we have.

Q. Do they not assimilate with us soon?—A. Hardly. Give the Chinese a chance and I think they will assimilate with us.

Q. That chance would embrace the elective franchise?—A. Certainly.

Q. Would you be in favor of giving the franchise to the Chinese the same as to European immigrants?—A. Unquestionably. If the one is entitled to it I would give it to the other; and if the negro is entitled to it, I do not see why it should not be given to the Chinese.

Q. Then you regard the Chinaman as equal in all respects to the European immigrants? I see no reason why he is not equal.

Q. Is the Chinaman equal in his civilization and morals?—A. In every respect.

By the CHAIRMAN.

Q. Your profession is that of a lawyer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you been on the bench in this State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The supreme bench?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was that?—A. From 1852 to 1857.

Q. From your acquaintance with the population of California of all kinds, making a general comparison, how does the morality and the behavior of the Chinese here contrast with the morality and behavior of an equal number of immigrants from Europe?—A. Taking the classes that we have here before us, the Chinese are something better; I think that they are more faithful, more reliable, and more intelligent.

Q. What is their general character in regard to industry?—A. I think that they have more industry than the corresponding class of whites.

Q. How do they compare in regard to keeping contracts; in their fidelity to engagements?—A. I think they are thoroughly reliable and perfectly faithful to their engagements.

Q. How does the intellectual ability of the Chinaman, so far as your observation enables you to judge, compare with that of Americans in the same corresponding class?—A. I think their general intelligence is greater. My impression is, from my information and observation, that there are very few Chinamen of the ordinary laboring class who cannot read and write their own language. In my intercourse with them I find them always quick to understand and very quick to appreciate. They exhibit also a ready intelligence, much more so than you will generally find among the ordinary laboring class of whites.

Page 530 Congressional report :

Cornelius B. S. Gibbs sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. How long have you been a resident of this State?—Answer—Over twenty-eight years.

Q. What is your profession?—A. An adjuster of marine losses.

Q. Does your profession bring you in contact with the Chinese merchants of this city and State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell the committee what your experience has been with them as men of business and men of integrity.—A. As men of business, I consider that the Chinese merchants are fully equal to our merchants. As men of integrity, I have never met a more honorable, high-minded, correct, and truthful set of men than the Chinese merchants of our city. I am drawn in contact with people from all nations, all the merchants of our city, in our adjustments. I have never had a case where the Chinese have attempted to undervalue their goods or bring fictitious claims into the adjustments.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Undervalue or overvalue?—A. I mean undervalue. You see in general average they pay on the market value of the goods; and as they make the goods less they pay less.

By Mr. BEE :

Q. Your business is connected with the white race—with the merchant class here?—A. There is not a merchant in this place with whom we do not have business.

Q. How do the white merchants compare with the Chinese?—A. As a class, I think the Chinese are more honorable than other nationalities, even our own.

Q. Are those with whom you deal generally educated scholars, mathematicians?—A. I think they are the best mathematicians I ever saw in my life.

Q. They are good business men?—A. Yes, sir; in fact, they are the only persons who will go through an adjustment and seem to understand it. I never met a Chinaman that if you gave him any figures to calculate he could not calculate it.

Q. Take the average of Chinese merchants, how do they compare with the average of American merchants?—A. Favorably.

Q. In all respects?—A. In all respects.

Q. Are some of them doing a large business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are their losses generally adjusted without law suits?—A. I never had a law suit with them or never had a complaint from them in my life. You have got to get their confidence and explain to them, and they generally go through with the figuring themselves. They can figure very fast and very correctly, and when they are convinced everything is right there is no trouble. There is no class of people that pay up as quickly as the Chinese. On Saturday we send them notice that the average is closed, and on Monday, by ten or twelve o'clock, all the certificates are paid. I have had fifty and sixty thousand dollars in a case, and they would come straight forward and pay it before twelve o'clock, while we have to send around to the other merchants a month, and sometimes two months, before we get it all from them.

Q. You think they are distinguished for their promptitude in business?—A. I do.

By Senator SARGENT:

Q. Do you ever visit these merchants at their homes?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you find their houses as cleanly as the houses of American merchants?—A. Yes, sir.

Page 532 Congressional report :

Herman Heynemann sworn and examined.

By Mr. BROOKS :

Question. What is your business?—A. A merchant.

Q. How long have you been engaged in that business here?—A. Fifteen years.

Q. What is the character of your business?—A. I am engaged in importing goods, also in manufacturing.

Q. What character of manufacturing?—A. I am president of the Pioneer Woolen Factory and agent of the Pacific Jute Factory.

Q. Why do you employ Chinese in your factory?—A. Originally we could not get any others at all. At that time it would have been an absolute impossibility to have run the factory upon white labor, simply because we could not get white operatives.

Q. Would the factory have been established with white labor?—A. No, sir. As a matter of fact, even with the Chinese labor, competition has been so active that we have had no dividends whatever.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. What is their character for industry and fidelity?—A. I have found in our factory during the last fifteen years, that we have not had a single case before the police court. All these Chinese laborers live on the premises. They have a building there; and we have not had a single case of any kind before the police court of murder, or rows among themselves, or theft upon the proprietors. I think that speaks well for them. I think there are few factories run entirely by white labor where the laborers live on the premises that could say that much.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. What is the cause, in your judgment, of the hostility to the Chinese?—A. The same cause that has been prevalent all over the earth, strangeness of manners. It used to be in England than any man who did not speak English was a "bloody foreigner." It did not make any difference whether he was the best man in the world, he was a "bloody foreigner," and it was the height of contempt to use that expression. I am just of the opinion of Mr. Wheeler; if this race, instead of keeping themselves in their peculiar dress, were to drink whisky and patronize the bar rooms to-day just like others do, the prejudice would disappear immediately.

Page 542, Congressional report :

Richard G. Sneath sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE :

Question. How long have you resided in this State?—Answer. A little over twenty-six years.

Q. You are the president of the Merchants' Bank, I believe, at present?—A. I am vice-president and manager.

Q. You were president of the Merchants' Exchange a few years ago, I believe?—A. I was president of the Chamber of Commerce and manager of the Merchants' Exchange.

Q. You have had extensive dealings with the Chinese?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I wish you to give your opinion to the committee in reference to their honesty.—A. I have been a merchant most of my time in California. I have dealt a great deal with Chinese, and with the Chinese merchants in this city particularly. I have always found them truthful, honorable, and perfectly reliable in all their business engagements. I have done business with them perhaps to the amount of several millions of dollars. I have never had a single one of them to fail to live up to his contracts. I never

lost a dollar by them, one way or the other, in all my business engagements with them.

Q. Could you say that much of the white race?—A. No, sir.

Q. During the time that you were a merchant you came in contact with these people in large transactions?—A. O, yes; quite large.

Q. Did it not get to be common during the time you were in mercantile pursuits that a Chinaman's word would be taken for a cargo of goods, while a bond would be demanded of white men?—A. I think it was a rule, as a general thing, that we entered into a written contract with white men, but with Chinamen we did not.

Q. You would take a Chinaman's word?—A. As a general thing.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What are the general habits of industry of the Chinese?—A. I have employed a good many common Chinese, and find them a very industrious people, and, as a general thing, very reliable. In fact, in a great many situations, I much prefer Chinese to white labor. Then again, as now, I am employing a considerable number of persons, farming pretty extensively, and employ nearly all white men, for the reason that Chinese do not understand farming. It is impossible to understand them and direct them properly on account of not being familiar with their language. They can only be worked in gangs, where they have their own headman; but still, after a while, as they soon take up with our language and pick up a great many mechanical ideas, some of them become very useful. I paid higher wages to Chinamen than I ever paid to white men, as cooks, for instance.

Q. What effect has Chinese labor had upon the growth and prosperity of the State, in your judgment?—A. Without the Chinese labor I do not think there would have been half the material wealth in this State.

Q. What effect has the presence of Chinese and their labor had in the increase of the white population here?—A. I am very well satisfied that the presence of the Chinese has furnished more high-priced labor among the white laborers than we could have had here without them.

Q. What, in your judgment, would be the policy of restricting Chinese immigration?—A. I should think it doubtful policy just at this time. I think it is a question whether a few more would not be an advantage. \* \* \* I think the presence of the Chinamen here in this State has made us familiar with them and their country and their commerce, and has led us into much closer relations. With the vast number of people they have there I believe it will eventuate in a very great blessing to the United States; it will furnish an opening for the labor of our skilled mechanics that we have no other opening for, perhaps. They are now using our flour to a very large extent, and they are using a great many things which we produce here; they are importing live stock of all kinds; they are importing all sorts of manufactured goods. We have not been able to compete here with Europe, particularly in relation to the matter of manufactured fabrics.

Page 512 Congressional report:

Alfred Wheeler sworn and examined.

By Mr. BROOKS:

Question. What is your profession?—A. I am an attorney at law.

Q. How long have you resided in this State?—A. Twenty-seven years this month.

Q. Are you a real estate owner?—A. Yes, sir; and have been always since I have been here.

Q. What business have you been engaged in besides the practice of the law?—A. I have been engaged in farming and in mining, and in the practice of the law; those have been my chief pursuits.

Q. To what extent have you been a farmer and land owner in this State?—A. I have been a land owner to a large extent in the vicinity of this city. Do you mean in the extent of acres, etc?

Q. Yes.—A. I own several thousand acres of land.

Q. According to the estimate that you have just submitted of Chinese immigrants, the general opinion of the community is hardly exaggerated as to the number?—A. As to the number it is because people do not generally go into statistics. They see a great many Chinamen in the city and they guess there are a hundred thousand of them, and they imagine that if 400,000,000 would come here they would cover us all up; and they do not look at the impracticability of the thing at all. If we have less than a hundred thousand in the State after twenty-five years of immigration, that is four thousand a year. If we are to go on at the proportion of one hundred thousand for every twenty-five years, it would take two hundred and fifty years for a million to come here. The probabilities are, however, that they could come here faster in future as the white population increases. The one will always regulate the other.

Q. What is your largest estimate of the number of Chinese who have come to this coast?—A. Over and above those that departed?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Less than a hundred thousand.

Q. From the time of the first settlement of California?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State your opinion in regard to the effect which the presence of Chinamen has had upon the progress and growth of the State of California.—A. I think that the immigration of Chinese has been vastly beneficial to the growth of California, and I think it is greatly beneficial to every white man, woman, and child in the State. I think the white laborers of the State are vastly benefitted by that immigration instead of hurt by it. If I did not think Chinese immigration beneficial to white labor I should feel much more inclined to consider that it ought not to be encouraged, because it is not from any humanitarian point of view or friendliness or affection for the Chinese that I think we ought, by any means, to encourage their immigration. If it can be shown that it is beneficial to the white laborer, the white laborer ought to be taught to see that fact, and made to understand that he is working against his own interest when he attempts to shut the door against Chinese immigration.

Q. Does the presence of Chinese labor here increase or diminish the demand for white labor?—A. It greatly increases it. It has opened avenues to white labor which never would have existed but for it. That can be illustrated in a dozen matters. \* \* \*

Q. I am only asking you for your observation here.—A. I have found them a pacific, mild, and gentle people, so far as I have had a limited experience with them. Those who have been in my employ as domestic servants I have always found extremely subordinate and respectful, quiet, attentive, and rather avoiding difficulties, in such cases as I have seen, than seeking them. They are conscious, evidently, of the prejudice existing against them. The children of the community are disposed to pelt them with stones, and they avoid the opportunity. I have seen them go around a block rather than pass by four or five boys whom they thought might stone them: not because they personally feared those boys, but they did not want to be subjected to the annoyance.

A. What do you know about their provoking conflicts or insults?—A. I never saw them provoke any one.

Page 708, Congressional report.

William F. Babcock sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. How long have you been a resident on this coast?—Answer. Since November, 1852.

Q. You are connected with the commercial house of Parrott & Co.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Give the commission your views of the effect Chinese immigration has had upon this coast in its past, and what your ideas are of its future. We

are here for the purpose of inquiring into that matter.—A. I think in a new country cheap labor is absolutely necessary. I think the effect has been beneficial, and will continue to be beneficial; that instead of driving out labor by cheap labor it increases it. Labor begets labor.

Q. What effect has it had upon the advancement of California? A. I think it has been very beneficial.

Q. Added materially to our wealth?—A. I think so in very many ways.

Q. In manufacturing?—A. In all the industries where they have been employed. There is one point that I have never seen mentioned before the commission. We probably have 120,000 Chinamen in this State, and they spend at the lowest 25 cents a day. That would be \$30,000 a day, or \$900,000 a month—in round figures, a million dollars a month that they spend among us. If we take that million dollars a month away, it certainly would do us a very great injury. Every thousand dollars' worth of merchandise that we sell in this State, goods of any description, is an advantage if it goes into consumption.

Q. How does the Chinese population in numbers compare with the white population in numbers now and ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago? In other words, has the ratio of Chinese population increased or diminished?—A. I think it has diminished.

Q. Compared with the whites?—A. I do not think the Chinamen have increased in this country since 1865. If they have, they have increased very little indeed, while the white population has very materially increased, as we all know.

Q. Is there apprehension entertained among the intelligent people on this coast of there being too great an influx of Chinamen?—A. I do not find that to be the case among those with whom I converse.

Q. You know of no such apprehension?—A. I know of no such apprehension, except what I read in the papers. The newspapers have very great apprehension of it.

Q. What, then, is the cause of the strong feeling or prejudice against Chinamen here; there must be some cause for such a state of things; what is it?—A. I think it arises from politicians, office holders, and foreigners, as a general thing. Very many of our population pander to this low taste, you may call it, and join in the outcry against the Chinese in order to get the foreign vote and popularity among them. That is my idea.

Q. State whether or not there is a real competition or conflict between Chinese labor and white labor in this State.—A. I think not.

Q. Are there more laborers than there is labor for them?—A. I think not.

By MR. PIXLEY:

Question. Is it desirable to have within a free commonwealth a non-voting population?—A. Yes, sir; I see no objection to it at all; not a particle. The Chinese do not want to meddle with our politics. They are the most quiet, industrious, and best people I ever saw. They are the most valuable laborers I ever saw in my life. I was up at the Clear Lake quicksilver-mines, in which I am largely interested, four or five weeks ago. There we employ a hundred Chinamen, and it would be almost impossible to get along without them. It is an out-of-the-way place.

Q. You said you were not employing Chinamen?—I am a director in the company. We have got about 80 white men and 120 Chinamen. The superintendent told me that every night of their lives every Chinaman bathed himself from head to foot, and if you had asked that question of Daniel McClellan the other day he would have stated the same thing.

Q. That was in his testimony?—A. I did not read it. They wash themselves from head to foot. If you go down to Battery street at 4 o'clock in the morning you will see 200 or 300 Chinamen waiting to go into the factories, and if you will look at their hands and feet and neck you will see them as clean and neat-looking people as you ever saw in the world. They are different from the lower white classes.

By the CHAIRMAN.

Q. As to the general integrity of the Chinese in their dealings, what is your opinion of their integrity as a people?—A. I think they pay their debts of all sorts and kinds ten times more promptly than white people. I believe they pay their rents better and more promptly.

Q. What is the character of your Chinese merchants for ability and intelligence, and their manner of doing business?—A. Clear-headed, shrewd, smart, intelligent, bright men. They are ordinary-looking fellows, many of them, as you see them going about the streets.

Q. Are they capable of managing a large business?—A. To any extent. Especially that is true of the hong merchants of Hong-Kong. When Nye failed he owed Han Quo a million Mexican dollars. It never had any effect on Han Quo's business at all whether he lost a million or two millions. If they had proper protection here in this country many of them would bring their money here.

Q. What are the Chinese as a nation in regard to mercantile honor?—A. We have six companies here, and I think if one got into trouble and could not pay, the others would come to his relief and give any amount of money required. I have never lost a dollar in my dealings with them in the world. As I told you, they are a shrewd class, sharp buyers.

Page 606, Congressional report:

Donald McLennan sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. You are connected with the Mission Woolen Mills, I believe?—Answer. I am.

Q. How long have you been in that business?—A. Sixteen or seventeen years.

Q. How long have you been in this country?—A. About nineteen years. \* \*

Q. How many operatives have you?—A. We have about 600, altogether—about 300 Chinamen and the rest white. \* \*

Q. How do you look upon them for honesty?—A. I never found a case of theft among them. It is possible that such things might take place and we not know it; but still we have never discovered anything of the kind or noticed that anything was taken away. \* \*

Q. The Chinese, therefore, you regard as steady and reliable?—A. Yes, sir; they are a very steady people. I have never seen a drunken Chinaman in my life.

Q. Do they ever strike for higher wages?—A. Never. I never knew them to do so. \* \*

Q. What is the difference in the rate of wages that you pay to the two races?—A. We pay our white men from \$1 75 to \$6 a day, and we pay the Chinamen 90 cents a day.

By Senator SARGENT:

Q. Are the Chinese large consumers of the goods you manufacture?—A. They are.

Q. What line of goods?—A. They buy blankets and underclothing, as well as shirts and drawers, and things of that kind.

Q. Then you have a double interest in having the Chinese here?—A. No; I have the same interest that all business men have.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you regard this State as adapted to the production of cotton?—A. Yes, sir; cotton can be raised here very well.

Q. What is the reason it is not raised in large quantities?—A. Because the price of labor is too high.

Page 616, Congressional report :

Henry C. Beals sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. You are connected with the *Commercial Herald*, of this city?—  
Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. For how long?—A. From its beginning.

Q. You are familiar with the commercial business of this coast?—A. I have been for the last twenty-six years or more. \* \* \*

Q. Our commerce with China bids fair to make huge proportions?—A. Yes, sir; it is increasing every day, and very rapidly. The China steamers go out twice a month. Mr. Williams, the agent of the Pacific Mail company, told me the other day that every steamer went out crowded to overflowing with goods and merchandise; that they were obliged to limit one side. The Chinese buy and handle more quicksilver, probably, than any other class of people here; they handle immense quantities. Hong Kong is our great market for quicksilver.

Q. It would be bad policy, then, in your commercial knowledge, to abrogate treaties, or any portion of treaties, which would tend to retard and cut off this trade?—A. Yes, sir; it would be irreparable. I do not think it would be otherwise than a great injury to the vast commerce of this port. The amount of business we do with Hong Kong and Chinese ports here is of vast proportions. We have a score or more of Chinese merchants who themselves do a vast amount of trading and buying and selling of our own products, such as flour and wheat. Recently they have increased their demand, and are drawing very heavily on our local mills here for barley—early barley—and it is getting to be a trade of very considerable importance. The assortment of goods they take from us is very steadily and rapidly increasing.

Q. And in variety also?—A. In variety; yes, sir.

Q. You meet these merchants on 'change daily?—A. Yes, sir. There are, on an average, twenty Chinese merchants on 'change every day.

Q. What is their deportment there?—A. They are very gentlemanly in all their intercourse with white people; none more so. They are treated with the same respect and attention as any other merchant visiting the exchange, and they are, by many, courted very extensively. So far as their credit is concerned, it is unsurpassed by any mercantile houses in the city. Their credit is A 1.

Q. How does their employment affect white labor?—A. In regard to household servants I will give you my experience in a few words: When I left New York, in the spring of 1850, I had employed a nurse girl who had lived with me ten years, and I paid her \$6 a month. After being out here two months or so, I sent for my family, and this nurse girl came out here. I paid her passage, you might say twice over to get her here. She was not exactly shipwrecked, but I had to pay her passage twice over, and I agreed to pay her \$50 a month after she arrived here. I continued to pay her \$50 a month for several years. To-day a servant girl in that capacity receives from \$20 to \$25 a month wages. At that time, in 1850, I paid a cook in New York \$10 a month. Like service here would cost \$30 a month now. That is the regular wages of white cook girls; chambermaids, or what they call second girls here, generally get about \$25 a month.

Q. For how many years past have those rates continued?—A. For some years past; six or eight years. I will say that since the agitation of this Chinese question here, within the last six months, it has been a very difficult matter for any one to hire white help, more so than it ever was before. What the actual cause or reason of it is, I do not know; but my own impression is that if it were not for the Chinese boys, as they are called, the Chinese servants that we have in our houses, instead of paying an Irishwoman, a good cook, etc., \$25 and \$30, we would have to pay what we did when I first came here, from \$40 to \$50 a month. I speak now of my own knowledge. A good

Chinese servant will do twice the work of any white servant woman you can have here. He will do housework better in every way, and do a great deal more. So far as my observation goes, Chinese servants here are not high servants. They do not work by the hour, eight hours a day, but they work at all times, and are willing. That is my experience. I have a Chinaman in mind now who was employed two years in my daughter's family, until very recently, and he did the work of two servants. I consider that he is worth his weight in gold as a servant.

With a few more extracts bearing directly on this question, we submit this question to your honest judgment regarding the presence of Chinese in California. So much has been said about the disease, filth, leprosy, etc., etc., connected with this people, and uncontradicted, it is due to humanity that the facts should be known.

Page 643, Congressional report.

Arthur B. Stout sworn and examined.

By Mr. BROOKS:

Question. What is your business?—Answer. I am a physician.

Q. How long have you resided in this State?—A. Since February, 1849.

Q. Have you practiced your profession from that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you held any office under the State connected with that profession?—A. Yes, sir; I am now a member of the State Board of Health. I have had no other official appointment, although I have been in the public hospitals as physician.

Q. Where have you resided?—A. In San Francisco, constantly,

Q. How near was your office and residence to what is known as the Chinese quarter?—A. Right in the midst of it

Q. You built there before the Chinese came to that quarter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. During your residence there have you known of any disease, any pestilence originating and spreading in there, or spreading from there?—A. No, sir; none.

Q. The Chinese live in that quarter very closely, do they not?—A. Quite closely, sometimes.

Q. How is it that you account for the fact that under these circumstances they are apparently so healthy?—A. Their frugal life gives them more immunity from disease. They eat only what is necessary to live upon. They eat to live and do not live to eat. They are clean in their habits, and they drink no whisky. I have never seen a drunken Chinaman in my life. They consequently obtain a better resisting power to the attack of disease.

Q. What is their habit in regard to ablutions?—A. They constantly wash themselves.

Q. The whole person, or only the face and hands?—A. My observation of the men is that they keep themselves clean. Their clothes are clean. As mechanics or workmen they keep themselves very clean.

By the CHAIRMAN.

Q. What is the comparative mortality among the Chinese and the whites of this city—the death-rate?—A. The death-rate is greater among the whites than among the Chinese.

Q. What is the comparative mortality among adult Chinamen and adult white people?—A. The amount is greater with adult white people.

Q. Have they had epidemics in the Chinese quarter?—A. No, sir; The small-pox has been among them, as it has been among others, but I think

there has been less small-pox among them—I mean the ratio of population allowed—than with the whites. When you come to take up the question of small-pox, I think I can exonerate the Chinese from the charges alleged against them of having introduced it.

Q. What has been your experience in reference to the Chinese leprosy?—A. I think that the hue and cry made is simply a farce. Leprosy is a disease of very ancient origin. It had its existence under certain peculiar circumstances of Eastern and East European nations. It has come from Europe when it has come here, and that is exceedingly rare, if at all. It is a disease that is rather passing away. It is a disease of a past epoch, which can never return again, owing to the different changes of civilization and of life that have occurred. Leprosy will probably never exist again. It exists in the Sandwich Islands, where it does not extend, partly because it is quarantined.

Q. You speak of prostitution here, and you think there is an insufficient number of Chinese women engaged in prostitution, not more than is required for the general health of the Chinese?—A. No, sir. I think that if you look at it in a hygienic view, and according to principles of political economy, and not as a question of morality, they have not their adequate supply.

By Mr. BROOKS:

Q. In regard to syphilis, much has been said in connection with the Chinese. Can you throw any light upon this subject?—A. They have the disease like other races. Wherever masses of population are crowded together in a large city, of course there is a great deal of disease. I do not think it is any more, nor do I think it is worse, among the Chinese than that which originates with other people. I certainly have seen worse cases of it among the whites in New York, in Europe, and here, than any cases I have seen of syphilis among the Chinese; and I have seen a number of cases with them.

By Mr. PIXLEY:

Q. You refer now to Dr. Toland's statement?—A. I am giving my own views.

Q. You say the statement about it is nonsense. Do you refer to Dr. Toland's statement?—A. I am not referring to Dr. Toland's statement at all. I forget what he said upon that subject. I am giving my own view. I am not spokesman for Dr. Toland or anybody else. The hoodlums—the boys—go among them, and the white men—sometimes sailors, sometimes the wanderers of the coast—and the Spaniards go among them, and they go more to molest, to annoy, to disturb them, than to use them; and when they use them they do not get more malady than by going to other houses. When boys go among them and contract disease, they are of that class and of that vicious habit that they would go there or somewhere else. They will be in mischief, and they will go where the mischief is worse, in order to get the more gratification in their dissipation; and if they contract their first baptism of blood there, it is perhaps better than if they should contract it somewhere else. They deserve what they get, and if they get it cheaper, perhaps it is better on that account. The statement that the morality of our white boys is influenced by going among the Chinese, is a gross exaggeration. Very few, anyhow, go among them for that purpose.

Page 660, Congressional report:

William M. Dye sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. What is your occupation?—Answer. Insurance-solicitor, principally among the Chinese.

Q. How long have you been in this city?—A. Eighteen years.

Q. What amount do the Chinese pay of insurance, to your knowledge?—A. They pay of fire insurance probably not less than \$5,000 and \$6,000 a month. For marine insurance, they pay not less than from \$6,000 to \$7,000 a month.

Q. Who supports these hundred laundries carried on by Chinese?—A. White people mostly. Some few Chinese patronize Chinese laundries.

Q. Generally white people support these hundred Chinese laundries?—A. Yes, sir.

Page 766, Congressional report:

SAN FRANCISCO, November 16, 1876.

William W. Hollister sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. What is your occupation?—Answer. I am a farmer.

Q. How long have you been a resident of California?—A. Since 1852—twenty-four years.

Q. In what portion of the State are your farming operations?—A. At present, chiefly in the county of Santa Barbara. \* \* \*

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Is there or not strong opposition to the Chinese among the agricultural people of the State?—A. As to the proprietors, I think there is a common sentiment and feeling in favor of the Chinamen. They are our last resort. They are the only thing that the farmer can rely upon at all. The feeling is common with all of the farmers, except possibly a very few, who are utterly unable to hire anybody at all. There are some men, you might say, who do not want Chinamen, but I do not know them. The feeling is common among the proprietors of Santa Barbara, I know, of very great favor to the Chinamen. In fact, they are doing all the work of that country. There are about four hundred of them there, almost all out in the country, variously employed, some of them chopping wood, some of them in-doors, some of them serving families. Generally, they find such work as they are best fitted for with the farmers of the country there. They are very handy with the bean crop of the country and with the barley. They do the greater part of the work. They adapt themselves to all work, because the others will not do it at the price at which they work.

Q. Is there opposition to the Chinamen among the people of Santa Barbara, a town of about six thousand people?—A. The bummers always goes against the Chinaman, and he is there as well as everywhere else. I never heard anybody else complain of them. The bummer is a man who does not work and does not want anybody else to work. If the Chinaman got \$5 a day, I suppose the bummer would go for his place and get it. That is about the reason, I suppose, why they oppose the Chinamen, because nobody can afford to give such wages. The man who demands big wages is simply running against himself; he breaks down all employment and nobody can hire him.

Appendix, page 1202, Colonel Hollister says:

I have employed Chinamen almost from the beginning of my life in this State. I have from five to fifteen or twenty as steady laborers, and for special employments, temporarily, many more at a time. I have studied the man as a man more closely, if possible, than I have any other race, and now give you my opinion of him as a worker and man. As a laborer, he is most submissive and kindly, ready to do what you want done, with entire good-will. He descends to the lowest employments, and, when properly treated, thinks of no degradation in the lowest of labors. In short, he is willing to be the mudsill, and take the very bottom round of the social ladder. As a man I have found him honest, and, as a rule, very intelligent. Who ever saw a drunken Chinaman? They are unskilled in most of our labors, but when educated in them I have found them most useful and efficient. When skilled in your

work, their accuracy and promptness are remarkable. For us of California they fill the very places which other laborers will not willingly fill. They perform the menial labors of our households, and in general do so much of our commonest toil that they pave the way for the higher labors of the better races. So necessary are they to us in filling the places they are filling now, that without them we would, if not actually come to a standstill, suffer extreme embarrassment in all departments. With the labor of these Chinese, numbering from fifteen to thirty in different branches of my business, I am able to give work to twenty to fifty laborers of other nationalities. Without their aid, who have thus opened the door to the advent of the higher labor, I would have found it so embarrassing to do anything that I would have been forced to forego many undertakings. In all fairness, considering the place filled by the Chinese in California, how are they to be considered as damaging or degrading to white labor? They do not often fill the positions sought after by others.

Q. What is the name of your town?—A. Santa Barbara.

By Mr. BROOKS:

Q. It is the county-seat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the moral condition of this Chinese population?—A. So good that I think out of the whole 400 Chinese population there have been but five arrests in the course of a year. Two of them were dismissed; two cases were for petty larceny, stealing vegetables, or something like that, from their own people. I never saw a better population in my life.

Q. How does this immigration compare morally with other immigration of the same class of people?—A. So much better that if the teachings of paganism make honest men, as I find the Chinamen to be, I think seriously of becoming a pagan myself. I believe in honesty; I believe in honest men.

Q. What is their physical condition as to health, etc.?—A. Those who are skilled in labor, and understand our work, having had some experience, are the best workingmen I ever saw. I do not think as an average the Chinaman is quite up to the average of the white population in physical strength, though I see exceptions where they are very strong and very good. They are not very strong men, but they are very earnest, good men. They work up to their power as I never saw any other people work in my life.

Q. What is the condition of their health?—A. First rate. I rarely see an invalid Chinaman.

Q. Have you noticed among them any predisposition to skin diseases or eruptions, or anything of that kind?—A. Not a bit.

Q. What are their habits in regard to personal cleanliness?—A. Better than that of the whites. My men are the cleanest men I ever had about me in my life. They wash every day of their lives. They shame our own population in that respect.

Q. In your intercourse with them, have you formed any opinion as to whether these Chinamen who are here are free or not?—A. If there was ever a slave among them I never knew it. I treat with my men severally and individually. I have no go-betweens. I say to a Chinaman, generally one who has been a father among them and understands the language well, "I want two more Chinamen; get good men, the best men; go bring them on and I will give them so much."

Q. You employ him merely as a Chinaman to get the men?—A. I take simply any one of them who understands the language and can talk well. I never supposed or believed that there was a particle of peonage or slavery among the Chinamen of California; and I do not believe there is to-day.

Q. Have you seen any evidence of any control exercised by any one Chinaman over another?—A. Not a particle.

Q. What do you say about their truthfulness?—A. They do not lie to me; I never hear them lie.

Q. How is it in regard to their faithfulness in performing their work when you are not watching them?—A. Very much better than any other labor.

The long and short of it, so far as my experience goes, is that a Chinaman desires to do his level best to earn his money; and if he knows he pleases you, he is all the better pleased. I have never seen men more willing, more truthful in my life than the Chinamen are.

Q. How is it in regard to keeping their contracts?—A. I have never had a contract broken by Chinamen yet.

Page 732, Congressional report.

Alexander Campbell sworn and examined.

By Mr. BROOKS.

Question. What is your profession?—Answer. I am a lawyer.

Q. How long have you practiced in this State?—A. Twenty years; five years previously in Oregon.

Q. Have you held any judicial office in this State?—A. I was judge of the 12th judicial district in this State.

Q. What is the opinion of the people of this State, so far as you have gathered it, upon this question?—A. Since the discussion of the question has commenced, in the papers and orally, I have heard and read a good deal about it. I have heard, as a person in business would hear, a matter of that public notoriety discussed; and the conclusion I have come to on that point is that parties disinterested, who have no political objects to gain, taking the intelligent portion of the community, are favorable to Chinese immigration on a limited scale. Of course opinions are very diverse on the subject, but I think the preponderance of opinion is in that direction.

Q. Do you think there is any danger of there being an excess of this immigration?—I think not. I base it upon what I alluded to before, the law of supply and demand.

By Mr. PIXLEY:

Q. You recognize, as we all do, that there are some exceptional, intelligent, honorable, high-minded Chinese?—A. I do; but the number of intelligent Chinese compares very favorably with the intelligence of almost any other people that I am acquainted with. So far as their character of intelligence goes, their reading and writing, I never met one who could not read and write their own language.

Page 747, Congressional report.

Samuel H. Dwinelle sworn and examined.

By Mr. BROOKS:

Question. How long have you resided in this city?—Answer. Twenty-seven years, nearly.

Q. How long have you been judge of the 15th district court?—A. Between twelve and thirteen years.

Q. What are the counties composing that district?—A. San Francisco and Contra Costa.

Q. Is Contra Costa an agricultural county?—A. It is.

Q. Have you had an opportunity of learning the views of the people of the interior on this question which is agitating us?—A. I have to a limited extent; but I have not traveled a great deal over the State.

Q. Have you any interest in this question at all?—A. Not of a monetary character. I have an interest in the question as a citizen. \* \* \*

Q. Is there a strong prejudice among the people of this State against Chinese immigration?—A. I think there is among the laboring classes. Outside of them I do not think it is very strong.

Q. It prevails among the laboring classes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does that prejudice or feeling grow out of an apprehension that the Chinese are taking their work from them, or will do it hereafter?—A. I think it does.

Q. Do you mean to say that this opposition is confined to the laboring classes?—A. I think so pretty much, as far as my observation goes. I find that farmers in the interior are always ready to employ Chinese, and in many instances they tell me that they prefer them to white labor. I have heard some of them say that they could not move their crops without the assistance of the Chinese; that if the Chinese were driven from the country our crops could not be moved.

Q. Does this opposition to Chinese prevail equally in the country and in the city?—A. I think not, for the reason that I very frequently see Chinese insulted and beaten upon the streets, and in the interior I never see it.

By Mr. BEE :

Q. I should like to call your attention to a letter which I have had in my possession since the commission has been in session, in reference to perjury. It is an extract from the *Morning Call*, and occurs in the report of a case held, I think, in your court in August, 1875. It is not signed by any one. I want to ask you as to its authenticity, and by reading it over you can judge. I will read it :

“Mr. MURPHY—I state, as representing the people here with the District Attorney, that the testimony on the part of the people, to establish the main facts, will be the testimony of Chinese witnesses. I also state that this is a surprise to me; that Mr. Flood does not draw the distinction perhaps as the law would, but he has a prejudice against the Chinese as a race; and it is a prejudice of the most vital importance when a man says he would not believe under oath an entire race, unless they were corroborated by another and distinct race. It is a prejudice of the utmost importance, not only against the Chinese while they are here, but against the due administration of justice.

“Mr. QUINT—Your Honor has heard enough of Chinese testimony to know that, without some corroborating circumstances or testimony, you feel it unsafe to render a judgment upon such testimony.

“The COURT (interrupting)—I feel it my duty as a man to state that I have never had occasion to come to such a conclusion. I know that the atmosphere is rank with perjury, not only of Chinamen, but of all classes; but I do not know as there is any reason to believe there is any more perjury among the Chinese than among others. God knows I hope not. The question now is only as to whether this jury is to be excused.”—*Morning Call*, San Francisco, August 12, 1875.

This is the language attributed here to you:

“I feel it my duty as a man to state that I have never had occasion to come to such a conclusion. I know the atmosphere is rank with perjury, not only of Chinamen, but of all classes; but I do not know as there is any reason to believe there is any more perjury among the Chinese than among others. God knows I hope not. The question now is only whether this jury is to be excused.”

A. That is my language with one exception. “Some others” should be there instead of “others.” I said that there was no reason to believe there is any more perjury among the Chinese than among some others.

Page 799, Congressional report :

John M. Horner sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE.

Question. How long have you lived on this coast?—A. I have been here over thirty years.

Q. Where are you residing?—A. I am residing in Alameda County, near the Mission of San Jose.

Q. Near the old Mission of San Jose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your business?—A. Farming, ever since I have been in the State.

Q. Has there been an overplus of labor this fall?—A. There has not in our neighborhood, even with the Chinamen there.

Q. Do your neighbors employ Chinamen?—A. They do. The Portuguese, Frenchmen and Americans employ them. All who own property there employ them.

Q. Without distinction of nationality or politics?—A. Yes, sir; it makes no difference.

Q. Then they look upon them as a necessity as laborers in your neighborhood?—A. That is the general impression.

Q. You must be pretty well acquainted in your neighborhood, having been here thirty years. What is the common opinion of people in your neighborhood on this question of Chinese labor; are they for or against it?—A. They are for it, as a general thing. That arises, however, more on account of its reliability than on account of its cheapness.

Q. Do you call the Chinese labor here cheap labor, in fact, in comparison with labor in the Eastern States?—A. No.

Q. You have been East within a few years?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. You do not know the wages paid in the Eastern States?—A. I hear that they average about \$14 for laborers on the farm.

Q. What do you pay Chinamen here by the month?—A. We pay them \$1 a day.

Q. Counting twenty-six days in a month?—A. Yes, sir; and the Chinaman boards himself. Some of them command better wages; but that is the average.

Page 581, Congressional report:

Rev. William W. Brier sworn and examined.

By Mr. BROOKS:

Question. What is your business?—Answer. My business upon which I make a living is raising fruit.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am a minister in the Presbyterian Church. \* \* \* \*

Q. I do not care to go into that topic. I shall let it rest with your statement—A. I should like to state to the committee what I know about the manners of the Chinese. They are a polite people. When I go out to the field the Chinamen bid me good morning in a very polite manner. They are not people easily excited at all; they are very equable in their temper of mind. I have never had any difficulty with Chinamen.

Q. Were not all those characteristics true of the slaves of the South while they were in slavery?—A. The Chinese are a cleanly people; they keep themselves neat and clean and nice; there is nothing offensive about them. Scarcely any of them ever swear; none of them that I have ever known drink whisky. I have never seen but one drunken Chinaman in my residence in California. I did see one man once with a bottle of whisky tied to each end of his pole, and he as reeling from one side to the other, and I said to myself, "That Chinaman is becoming Americanized." I have seen but that one drunken Chinaman. I have never had but one Chinaman come to my house and ask for anything to eat, or to ask if I had anything to give to him; just one individual case, and I suppose there are more than a hundred fed there of white men of other nationalities every year.

Page 597, Congressional report:

David D. Colton sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. You are connected with the Southern Pacific Railroad, I believe? Answer. I am.

Q. Are you the vice-president or the President of the company?—A. At this time I am the vice-president. \* \* \*

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I understand it. My question is, what is the origin or the cause of the opposition to Chinamen, the hostility that evidently prevails among a great many of your people ?—A. I have asked myself that question a good many times when I have been down at the steamer; and when these inoffensive people, in the legitimate pursuit of their business, were going up from the steamer to their lodging-houses I have seen twenty or thirty of what are termed hoodlums, here, throwing rocks at them. I have seen quiet, peaceful Chinamen going through the street, when grown men would hit them in the face, knock off their hats, and do all those things which, if done to an American in China, the whole American nation would be in favor of a war; they would be in favor of wiping China from the face of the earth.

Q. If Americans in China were treated in the same way ?—A. Yes, sir. It is a painful statement for an American to make, under our form of government, but I think there is nobody in this room, who has lived here in the city, who will differ with me on that subject.

Q. How do the Chinese compare, in point of intellectual ability, capacity to understand, with Americans; do you notice any difference ?—A. I look upon the American race as a very superior race. I would also rather undertake to get along with an American, probably, than with a Chinaman; but the Chinese are very apt; they learn quickly, they comprehend a thing, and they never drink. I never saw a drunken Chinaman in my life. They are always at themselves; they do not have any sprees. I have heard of this smoking of opium, but out of three or four thousand on the road there are no opium-smokers. There is no trouble with them; they are always on hand in the morning; they do a full day's work; and they are certainly *the most cleanly laborers that we have.*

Page 666, Congressional report.

Charles Crocker sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE :

Qustion. How long have you been in this State ?—A. I have been here twenty-six years.

Q. What has been your business ?—A. For the last fifteen or sixteen years I have been building railroads. \* \* \* \* \*

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. How long have you lived on this coast ?—A. Twenty-six years.

Q. You have been acquainted with the operations of the Chinese since their first arrival here ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what, in your judgment, is their effect upon white labor, whether they have the effect to deprive white men of employment, or have had that effect at any time.—A. I think that they afford white men labor. I think that that presence here affords to white men a more elevated class of labor. As I said before, if you should drive these 75,000 Chinamen off you would take 75,000 white men from an elevated class of work and put them down to doing this low class of labor that the Chinamen are now doing, and instead of elevating you would degrade white labor to that extent. For any man to ride through California, from one end of this State to the other, and see the miles upon miles of uncultivated land, and in the mountains millions of acres of timber, and the foot-hills waiting for some one to go and cultivate them, and then talk about there being too much labor here in the country is simply nonsense, in my estimation. There is labor for all, and the fact that the Chinamen are here gives an opportunity to white men to go in and cultivate this land where they could not cultivate it otherwise.

Q. You think, then, that there is no conflict between the interest of the white and the Chinese laborer ?—A. No, sir; I think if the white laborer understood and realized his true interest he would be in favor of the present proportion of Chinese labor in this State.

By Mr. PIPER :

Q. Where were you born ?—A. In Troy, New York, on the Hudson River.

Q. Were you born rich?—A. No, sir; very poor.

Q. You worked for a living, did you not?—A. I am a working man, and always have been. I started from home when I was 16½ years old, owing 62½ cents, without a copper in my pocket and not a change of clothes, and I have never received any assistance from any living man since unless I paid him for it and interest upon it.

Q. You were a contractor for the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say that you employed ten thousand Chinamen?—A. About that number; I never knew exactly how many.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is the character of the Chinese whom you have employed, for temperance?—A. They are all temperate.

Q. Have they peaceful habits?—A. I have never seen a drunken Chinaman on the work, and I do not know that I have ever met a drunken Chinaman on the streets. I have no recollection of ever having seen a drunken Chinaman. I have seen them under the effect of opium. \* \*

Q. Do you think there are too many Chinamen here now?—A. No, sir; I think the number is just about right. I believe that not long ago there were a few too many of them, but they went away, seeking other places for profitable employment. I believe the law of supply and demand will regulate itself if they are left alone. I recognize a Chinaman as more than an ordinarily intelligent man, and they will not come here unless they can get profitable employment. When there are too many here they will go somewhere else; they have done that repeatedly. There have been times when there was a less number in the State than now, and there have been times in 1864 or 1865 when, I think, there were more Chinamen here than now. Whenever there is a scarcity of labor for these Chinamen, you see them taking the steamers for home; and when there is a demand for their labor, they come.

Q. You think this law of supply and demand would regulate their coming without any legislation by Congress?—A. I do. I believe the best thing to do is to let the subject alone and leave it to regulate itself, and it will regulate itself. There may be a time, for a month, or a year, or eighteen months, when there are too many Chinamen here, but they find they cannot get labor and go away.

By Mr. BEE:

Q. As an old citizen, suppose we should call a convention here, after all political matters have been settled, and pass a resolution saying that both political parties in convention agree to submit to the voters of the State of California the question of Chinese immigration, yes; or, Chinese immigration, no. What, in your opinion, would be the result of that ballot?—A. I believe if it was argued calmly and deliberately before the people, without any of this hue and cry, eight-tenths of the people would vote for the amount of Chinese labor there is here now. You can get up a hue and cry against the best man in the world, and hang him, if the newspapers will only say enough about it. If the politicians and men who harangue the people will talk fast enough and hard enough, you can get them to hang a good citizen; but if you will argue this question legitimately before the people, on its merits, without any partisan feeling, you can come down to any man who owns a little homestead, if it is only worth \$500, and I believe that eight-tenths of the people will vote for the amount of Chinese people that is here now. I believe that if to day the question could be presented to the people of California, free from partisan politics—free from that agitating tirade against a race, particularly on account of their color, their manners and customs, and all that—the people to-day would vote against this anti-Chinese sentiment. That is my opinion. That is what I say, and I mix in the community. The men I come in contact with are farmers and men who have got something to work for, and they feel that way. They are in favor of them. I know when I was a boy I assisted in riots in the city of Troy, New York, when the Irish immigration was coming into the country. This same hue

and cry was raised against them, and there were riots against the Irishmen. It was said they were going to overrun the country, and the people were mobbing them.

By Senator SARGENT :

Q. You do not take into consideration the moral question or the effect upon political institutions? You do not consider any question except whether they will stay or not?—A. I consider that as they are wanted for labor they will come, and when there are too many of them here to find profitable employment they will go away.

Q. I thought that your answer perhaps embraced some care for our institutions, that you thought more than one to ten might injure us in some way more than our labor or advancement of material interest would compensate, but I find you eliminate all such considerations?—A. I have never seen in my experience any injury that the Chinamen has worked to any of our institutions. I have never noticed that they have affected the morals of the people. They keep to themselves. If our people keep away from them, the Chinese will not force themselves upon them. I am speaking now of prostitutes. The prostitutes are slunk away in blind alleys, and if our people keep away from them they are not going to go hunting after our people. I believe if our people want to be debauched, they will find plenty of white prostitutes to debauch them in the absence of the Chinese.

By Mr. PIPER :

Q. I see that you have no prejudice about this matter?—A. No, not a bit. If there is any one who loves California, it is me. I can prove that I have stuck by old California. I love California, and I love its people.

Page 720, Congressional report :

West Evans sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE :

Question. How long have you been in this country?—A. It was twenty-five years in January since I arrived here.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a manufacturer and dealer in railroad ties and lumber.

Q. Have you been extensively engaged in building railroads?—A. Somewhat extensively. \* \* \*

Q. Do they find some one to lead them at those times?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. What class of people generally lead them on?—A. I never had any trouble between white men and Chinamen, except with the Irish. I never had any Americans or Germans or Scandinavians to meddle with the Chinamen at all.

Q. It is the Irish who interfere with them altogether, in your experience?—A. I never had any trouble with any other.

Q. Protestant Irish?—A. No, sir; Catholic Irish.

Q. The Protestant Irish do not seem to interfere with them in any part of the State?—A. They never have with me. I never heard of their interfering with Chinamen.

Q. Then from what source does this opposition to the Chinese arise, in your opinion, periodically?—A. I never heard any business men opposed to Chinamen. It comes through politicians and this class I speak of.

Q. Do you think the Chinese have been a benefit to the State?—A. I think so.

Q. Greatly so?—A. I do not see how we could do the work we have done here without them; at least I have done work that would not have been done if it had not been for Chinamen—work that I could not have done without them.

So much eloquence has been expended, in and out of the halls of Congress, in reference to the extreme filth, squalor and pestil-

ence of the Chinese quarter in this city, that we are compelled to call your attention to the facts. It will be seen that while this city pays an enormous tax for street cleaning, it has not expended one dollar for that purpose in the Chinese quarter for six years. Anti-coolie demagogues would lose much of their anti-Chinese buncombe if it was kept clean.

Dr. Stout, member of State Bord of Health.

Page 649, Congressional report.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. How does the squalor and filth of the Chinese quarter compare with other parts of the city, or in other words, is the filth and squalor of the Chinese quarter greater than that of some other parts of the city?—A. The squalor of the Chinese quarter is not much greater than that which exists in other parts of the city from other people. Of course their quarter is disagreeable, because it is perhaps more densely populated, but there is less care taken of it. If ample care were taken by the city authorities toward the drainage and the cleaning, I do not think they would be much inferior to the squalor, for instance, such as I saw nearly at the summit of Telegraph Hill a day or two ago. I was called to see a sick child up there, and the filth and stench from want of cleanliness was terrible. I can take you down to the lower part of the city, below Montgomery street, and show you much more squalor in the form of neglect, want of drainage, and want of proper care, than you would find in the Chinese quarter. There has been a great exaggeration in all those charges against the Chinese.

Q. What is the care bestowed upon the Chinese quarter by the city authorities? Is that treated as carefully and as fully as other parts of the city?—A. I have been under the impression for a long time that it was, but I have since been informed that most of the garbage carts, and the sweeping of the streets is done at the expense of the Chinese, and not at the expense of the city; that they are left to take care of themselves.

Q. That was testified to here. Do the city authorities employ such carts in other parts of the city?—A. The city authorities undertake to clean the city in other parts, and very likely they may extend their care occasionally through that quarter. I see a great deal of cleaning through the Chinese quarter. I see carts going through there, and except early in the morning, when they are required to throw out garbage, the streets are quite clean, such as Pacific street and Jackson street.

George W. Duffield sworn and examined.

By Mr. PIXLEY :

Question. What is your connection with the city government, and how long has it been?—Answer. I have been connected with the police department for the last ten years.

Q. Have you been detailed to special duty in the Chinese quarters?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. PIPER :

Q. What is your beat?—A. Jackson street from Dupont to Stockton.  
Q. Just two blocks?—A. One block.

By Mr. PIXLEY :

Q. You are a special police officer, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And paid by the Chinese, and not by the city government?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. MEADE.

Q. Are you engaged in any other business or occupation from which you derive any income or profit?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are engaged in cleaning the streets?—A. I pay for that from what

I get from the Chinese. It costs from forty to fifty dollars a month to clean the street there.

Q. You get pay from the Chinese for that?—A. I pay for it out of what the Chinese pay me.

Q. Is the rest of the city cleaned in that way?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. How is the rest of the city cleaned?—A. By the superintendent of streets.

Q. Does the superintendent of streets perform this duty on your beat?—A. I have seen co-operation carts up there but twice in five years since I have been on the street.

The entire Chinese quarter is neglected, in this most important sanitary necessity, by the authorities, and the whole burden thrown upon the Chinese. Is it just or honorable to charge that the Chinese quarter is a cesspool of filth under the foregoing evidence of neglect from those who are responsible?

It is boldly asserted that no man could be elected to office who favored or employed Chinese. We present one of the richest, oldest and densely populated counties in contradiction.

Page 796, Congressional report:

John H. Hill sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. How long have you been a resident of California?—Answer. I came to California in July, 1850.

Q. Where have you resided?—A. Principally in Sonoma County. I have been East occasionally to visit my children, but Sonoma County has been my place of residence.

Q. What has been your business there? Have you been a farmer in Sonoma County?—A. Yes, sir; cultivator of fruit principally.

Q. Do you employ Chinese labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Please state what kind of laborers they have made, as to their honesty, integrity and habits.—A. I find them, from experience, to be temperate, industrious, honest and good laborers, creating no trouble whatever.

Q. Is it a common practice in Sonoma County to employ Chinese in that business, fruit raising?—A. I think in my neighborhood there must be, perhaps, some five hundred Chinamen employed. It is principally a vine growing district.

Q. They are engaged, then, largely in cultivating the grape for the farmers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Could you get white labor to do that work?—A. I do not think we could. I think it is one of the industrial resources of the country that would have to be abandoned if it depended upon white labor. There are certain seasons of the year when a large accession to the ordinary number of hands is required, when the crop is ripening, and I do not think white men could be got on the spur of the moment to do the work.

Q. What is the sentiment of your people generally, your neighbors, and the people of Sonoma County with whom you come in contact, in reference to Chinese labor?—A. I think it is favorable, if I may judge from circumstances and what I know.

Q. That is a Democratic county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Largely so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. One of the richest counties in the State, I believe?—A. I think it is one of the best counties in the State; perhaps as well improved as any other.

Q. Is it your son who is a member of the State senate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was elected as a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he employing Chinese at the time of the election?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And before that?—A. Before the election.

Q. Has he employed them since?—A. Yes, sir; entirely.

Q. I have a vague impression that your son polled a very large vote at the time he was elected to the senate. Please state it in the aggregate.—A. I think there were some 3,300 votes polled in the county, and I think he received 2,700 or 2,800 out of the 3,300. I do not think that there was a laboring man in the district who voted against him on account of his employing Chinese labor.

Q. You consider that a pretty fair test—that that is the public opinion upon that question?—A. I should think so.

To give the curious an insight into the religion of our people, we quote the testimony of a distinguished traveler and scholar, Chas. Wolcott Brooks, who visited China to study the people and their civilization. Page 941 Congressional report.

Charles Wolcott Brooks sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. Are you a resident of this city?—Answer. I am.

Q. What official position did you hold in China, if any?—A. Not any. I was agent of the Japanese government here, about seventeen years, Japanese consul.

Q. You have been to China?—A. Yes, sir; a good many times.

Q. What is your opinion of the Chinese who come to this country, for honesty, integrity, etc.?

Mr. PIXLEY. Do you confine the witness to the commercial classes?

Mr. BEE. I refer to all classes. The witness can explain by headings.

The WITNESS. I imagine there are all classes among the Chinese, as there are among our people. It depends very much upon their position in society and their education, but I think the honor of the Chinese mercantile classes stands quite as high as the average of any race. I think that the mercantile losses by Chinamen are vastly less than by almost any other single nationality.

Q. It has been testified to here to-night that the Chinese are thieves. Is that your experience among them?—A. No, sir:

Q. What is your opinion of the moral condition of China as compared with other nations, excluding the United States?—A. As I understand the religion of China—

Q. I do not speak of the religion, but the moral condition.—A. That is the way of reaching it, I think; because if you wish to get at the moral condition of a nation you must look at their springs of action. When I first went to India and traveled through all those countries, I made up my mind that the only way to understand a people was to first learn their religion. When you learn the rules that govern their actions you can judge of them, and you can judge whether they are influenced according to their belief. That is all you can expect of any nation. The Chinese religion, as I understand it, is very much like what might be called pure spiritualism. It is very much like modern spiritualism, supposing it to be pure. I am not speaking of the Buddhists, but of the religion of the masses of China. Their religion is called Fung Shuy, to a great extent. Fung means wind and Shuy means water, and taken as a compound word, it means wind and water.

Q. Are there not certain moral principles acknowledged by all nations as good and evil which are distinct and separate from religion?—A. Yes, sir; but if you take the Chinese religion in its purity it is a very pure religion. It is not dogmatic theology, but it is very pure in its principles. You may say of them as we would say of a Christian, that a good Christian must be a good man; and a man who lives up to their religion must be a good man. They are both very pure religions, and, I think, on the average the Chinese live up to their religion pretty nearly as well as any other nation that I know of.

## Appendix, page 1218.

Confucius, who is sometimes called the "Star in the East," whose writings are still respected by scholars of all nations, affirmed that his work would be completed by a true saint, to be looked for and found in the West. He recorded in the Shu-King, 500 B C, the germ of our golden rule—"Do not unto others what you would not that others should do unto you"—the great doctrine of reciprocity. And there we find that the famous "*vox populi, vox Dei*" of later Rome was but a transcript or repetition from this book, or the more ancient Chinese authorities from which it was compiled. He inculcated, "Honor thy parents, that life may be happy," and enjoined family affection as a duty. No crime, in Chinese eyes, exceeds a violation of filial duties. Family ties are their closest bonds, and family honor is their constant pride and greatest restraint. Their religion inculcates strict honesty, and they believe in "Fung Shuey," or sweet influences from departed ancestral spirits. Education is esteemed one of the chief ends of life, which, they hold, should be universal. Toleration is a principle taught in their religion, as well as a higher law. "Original equality of man before law," and "Aristocracy comes of intellect, not of birth or wealth," have with them long been fundamental principles. These are their bulwarks of national strength, and combined, form a religion inculcating the purest moral principles, encouraging neither cruelty nor sensuality. In these lie the secret of that perpetuity with which their type of humanity has quietly sustained itself through centuries, while Bactrian, Assyrian, and Persian kingdoms, with polished and mighty Rome, have, in turn, erred from these high principles and yielded up their national life.

Laboring Chinamen, when poor and in debt, live, save, and thrive on wages far below our laborers, because honesty is inculcated in their religion; but experience has shown that after they are forehanded, they become more free in the distribution of their money, purchasing freely what will most conduce to their comfort. Human nature is singularly alike the world over. It is natural to use the gains our labor has brought us. As a people, they are neat, orderly, and skillful; not readily excelled in handicraft; frugal, industrious, teachable, patient, and intelligent. They make excellent house-servants, and may be trained to cook skillfully in any style. When taught by French cooks, it is difficult to excel them. With one explanation thoroughly understood, they will need no further instruction or correction. They may occasionally be sullen, but never stupid. They are not given to excessive hilarity, but are quiet, peaceful, and persistent. Their manipulation is careful, and often extraordinary. They would make dexterous cotton-pickers; never bungling ones.

The "Six Chinese Companies"—what they are and who they are. The Rev. Mr. Loomis says, page 446, Congressional report:

The six companies. These are commercial guilds. The people from different sections belong to their several companies, analogous to the Hibernia, Saint Andrews, Sclavonian, Italian, German, or New England societies. These societies have their by-laws, their presidents, secretaries, treasurers, interpreter, etc. These officers are chosen by ballot every year, and receive their salaries. They are for mutual aid. For certain benefits which are extended to the members they are willing to pay the dues and taxes imposed. The officers of these companies, together with prominent men among the merchants and others connected with the company, are called together to deliberate and advise on occasions of important events, such as a murder, a riot in the mines or anywhere, a quarrel between members of different companies, the failure of some Chinese firm, or threatened persecutions or any impending danger, or to make arrangements to receive and do honor to any dignitary. These meetings are simply advisory. They act often as arbitrators in difficulties, so as to prevent their people, if possible, from going to law; or when their countrymen have been robbed or murdered in the mines, they take steps to procure, through the government officers, the apprehension and prosecution of the offenders.

Some of the companies in early California times built and supported hospitals for their countrymen. An old building down on what was called Washerwoman's Bay was built and supported by the Chinese for a hospital in early times. These companies do not import coolies; they are not immigrant associations; they are not civil or criminal courts to try and execute offenders, nor are they secret combinations for the purpose of subverting or interfering with the course of justice in the countries to which their people go to sojourn.

Rev. Otis Gibson gives the Commission his explanation of the Six Chinese Companies. Both these gentlemen speak the Chinese language. Page 406, Congressional report:

The famous "six companies" are simply voluntary associations for mutual protection and benefit. It is the universal custom of the Chinese, when emigrating to any new country, to at once form themselves into a guild or association of this kind; and every Chinaman from the same region naturally seeks membership in this guild. They at once open a hall or general meeting-place, and often connect with it a temple or altar to the local divinities of their native place. They elect annually their officers in a very democratic way. Differences that arise among members are referred to the officers and leading influential members for arbitration and settlement. Advice and aid are given to the new comer and to the sick. They are not mercantile firms in any sense; neither are they courts of justice, but voluntary associations for mutual aid and benefit. They do not claim, nor do they exercise, any judicial authority. Cases are constantly occurring where their advice and arbitration is not accepted by the parties, and the disputes are brought into our courts of justice. All the restraining power which these companies hold or exercise over the people is through an arrangement with the various steamship companies, by which no Chinaman can purchase a passage to China without first procuring a permit of departure from these companies. They claim to do this in order to prevent dishonest Chinamen from running away before their debts are paid. Any anxious creditor may leave his accounts against a Chinaman with the company to which the debtor belongs, and no permit will be granted until an amicable settlement is made.

Frederick W. Macondray sworn and examined.

By Mr. BEE:

Question. How long have you lived in this city?—Answer. I have been here twenty-four years or more.

Q. You are of the house of Macondray & Co.?—A. I am.

Q. It is an old mercantile house here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your house has been extensively engaged, I believe, in the trade with China?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have been your relations with the Chinese with whom you have dealt as to their integrity, honesty and ability, and as business men?—A. From all our dealings with them here and in China I do not know any class of merchants, I think, who are more honest and upright or who have a better reputation for integrity than the Chinese.

Q. To what extent in round numbers do you deal with the Chinese in a monetary point, annually?—A. Perhaps \$500,000 or \$600,000 a year. We have never lost a dollar by them, to my knowledge, in twenty-six years.

Q. You have business relations with the white people?—A. Of course.

Q. How do they compare with Chinese in their honesty and integrity as merchants, favorably or otherwise?—A. They do not compare, of course, as favorably as the Chinese.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You spoke about \$500,000 or \$600,000 annually being your trade with the Chinese, and I simply wanted to get at the aggregate of your business.—A. Possibly half of it is done with the Chinamen.

Q. You say you have never lost a dollar in your traffic with them?—A. Not to my knowledge, never a dollar.

Q. Have you had losses?—A. Of course. I only speak of my own knowledge. I have been in the house some sixteen years, and in that time I am quite sure that we have never lost a dollar by the Chinese.

Q. Have you had losses? Have you lost by white people?—A. Certainly, we have. Of course, we must have done that.

Q. Are your contracts with Chinese generally made in writing?—A. No, sir; I do not know that I have ever made a contract with a Chinaman in writing.

Q. They are verbal contracts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they comply with them?—A. They do.

Q. What is the physical condition of the Chinese who come here?—A. I think their physical condition is good. I think they are healthy and strong.

Q. From your observation of the class who have been coming here for 25 years, is it liable to breed disease by coming in contact with our race?—A. I do not know that I am able to pronounce on that subject. I think, as a rule, they are strong and healthy, able-bodied men.

Q. You know of no contracts ever having been made for servile labor, here, like the coolie system?—A. No; I never knew a case of that kind. We have never had anything to do with bringing Chinese here or importing them in any way. We have had offers of that character from the Southern States to take them to Louisiana, but never have done anything of the kind at all. I really know nothing about their importation.

Page 489, Congressional report.

SAN FRANCISCO, November 11, 1876.

Joseph A. Coolidge sworn and examined.

By Mr. Bee:

Question. Are you the secretary of the Merchants' Exchange. Answer. I am secretary and manager of the Merchants' Exchange.

Q. How long have you been in that occupation?—A. Since the organization of the association in 1866.

Q. How long have you been in this city?—A. Twenty-seven years nearly.

Q. Please state to the committee what information you have in reference to the Chinese that you come in contact with, whether there are any of them who are members of the Merchants' Exchange. Have you a statement which you could refer to?—A. I have a brief statement which I shall read. We have seven Chinese firms as stockholders and twenty-four as subscribers to the Merchants' Exchange. The subscribers are to be seen daily in the room and on 'change during the hour; they are intelligent, shrewd, courteous, and gentlemanly, honorable in their business transactions, and compare favorably with people of any other nationality. I have been informed by merchants who have had extensive business transactions with them that the usual contracts in writing were unnecessary, their word being a sufficient guarantee for their fulfillment, and in a term of years, in which business to the extent of millions of dollars was transacted, not one cent has been lost by bad faith on their part. I have never been acquainted with a Chinaman in any station in life who could not read and write in his own language. In cleanliness of person they are remarkable. I have observed them closely in their various occupations, and on the streets, and cannot call to mind an instance of dirty face or hands, or of soiled garments.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How long have you been here?—A. Nearly twenty-seven years.

Q. Have you any knowledge of the number of European immigrants in this city, taking Germans, Irish, English and all?—A. I have no data upon which to base an opinion.

Q. Is the entire European immigration equal to the number of Chinese?—A. I think not.

Q. How do the Chinamen engaged in mercantile business and in manufactures compare with the European immigrants who are engaged in the like business, who are merchants, manufacturers, and so on?—A. I think the Chinese compare favorably in every respect.

Q. What is the general mercantile character of the Chinese for capacity and integrity?—A. I think they have no superior.

Q. Are some of them engaged in large business?—A. Yes, sir; very large business.

We are charged daily through certain papers that we are represented "by paid agents" and "paid attorneys." Page 901, Congressional report.

Benjamin S. Brooks affirmed and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. How long have you lived here?—Answer. Since 1849.

Q. What is your profession or occupation?—A. I am a lawyer, admitted to the Supreme Court of New York, and of this State, and of the United States.

Q. You have been present here examining witnesses. In what capacity do you appear here?—A. I really do not know. I appear here because I saw by the newspapers that the commission had been kind enough to mention my name among those who would be permitted to be present.

Q. Are you employed by anybody to appear here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you any fee promised or in expectation from any quarter?—A. No, sir, I have not been requested by anybody to appear here. I am a pure volunteer. I felt constrained to come when I saw my name mentioned, because while I was at the East, during the past summer, going there with my wife on a jaunt of pleasure, I saw in the newspapers a copy of the memorial filed by Messrs. Pixley, Casserly and Roach. I thought it was incorrect, and I wrote a letter addressed to the chairman of this committee. I sent it to my agent at Washington, and requested him to see the chairman of this committee personally with it. He was too much engaged at that time to attend to the matter, and the letter was communicated to other members of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I afterward wrote a reply to this memorial, which I sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. It was printed; I had it printed just as I was leaving; in fact, the proof was sent to me on my way, and I corrected it on the railroad. Having done so much in recommending, as I did, in addition to communications, that the Senate, before proceeding to legislate or to make treaties, should inquire into the facts concerning the matter, I felt somewhat in duty bound to give such assistance as I could to the committee to ascertain the facts.

Q. Are you employed by Chinamen as their attorney in their own affairs?—A. No, sir; I have no Chinese clients whatever.

Q. State whether there is or is not a strong public sentiment in this city, beginning first with the city, against Chinese immigration, either opposed to it altogether or in favor of its limitation.—A. I think there is no such public sentiment. There is a very strong, violent, and loud public sentiment in a certain class of the population, but I do not think it is a large class. In the country I think it is a small minority. I took considerable pains to ascertain the sentiment as I came down across the country, conversing about the matter with every one I met on the road and at the hotels. I have continued the practice since I came here, inquiring of every one that I met. The people that I meet and converse with probably do not represent the entire people. I do not suppose that I am in the habit of meeting all classes of the people; but, so far as my observation extends, this opposition is confined to a class.

Q. How numerous is that class? Take, for instance, the city of San Francisco.—A. I think that the class in this city is large. I think that the foreign voting population in this city outnumbers the native.

Q. You think that the foreign voting population here outnumbers the native?—A. Very considerably. I had the register looked over with a view to ascertain the fact; the proportion of foreign-born voters is about 55 per cent., and that of course gives in this city a preponderance of that element; it is mainly in that element that this violent opposition exists; but not all of that class are in this opposition. A good many of them are quite content to

take their chance with the Chinese or any other immigrant who comes here.

Q. You state that those who are opposed to Chinese immigration in the country are a small minority?—A. I think a very small minority.

Q. Is there an apprehension here among well-informed people—or among people, I will not use any qualification—that the State is liable to be overrun with Chinese; that there is danger of that?—A. There is no such apprehension among educated people. I doubt very much whether there is such an apprehension among any people to any very great extent. I think the opposition to the immigration does not arise from that source or from that cause.

Q. You say that not all the foreign element is in that opposition?—A. No, sir; not by any means; but I should think that very nearly all of the Catholic Irish are in that class. I think it would be hard to find a Catholic Irishman who was not an anti-coolyite. That class, of course, is very considerable. I think all the hoodlums of the city are anti-cooly, and think all the bummers are anti-cooly, and those are two classes which are quite numerous in addition to the Catholic element.

Q. You speak about the treatment which the Chinese receive. What do you mean by that?—A. They have been in this city insulted, assaulted, beaten and killed. In the interior, probably, they have suffered more even than here. As I came down across the country I saw a great many Chinamen at work in the worked-over placer beds. I was told then and I have always heard it said that if they happen to strike anything worth a white man's working, the whites take it. There have been a great many assassinations. In the report of the Senate committee in 1861 you will find a statement made of the number of assassinations in the mines, and they were mostly by officers of the State.

Q. I have not seen that report I believe.—A. It is with the reporter, and is to go into the appendix. A short time ago at Truckee the cabins of some Chinese miners were set on fire, and the Chinamen shot as they emerged from the blazing buildings. There was an effort to punish the perpetrators. Some parties were arrested. Upon trial of the cause some white men swore distinctly to the fact of the killing, and an equal number of white men swore that the evidence given by the former witnesses was untrue in every particular; they denied directly and distinctly everything, and of course the perpetrators escaped; there were none punished. I have myself seen the Chinese when they landed at the foot of Second street. I live upon Rincon Hill, and I used to come up Second street on my way to the city. I have seen them when coming from the steamer, and I have seen boys along the street striking them as they went along, others throwing things at them—potatoes, stones, anything that came handy. I have often seen Chinese boys with their heads cut and their faces bloody; and instances of that kind I have heard very frequently from my friends who were eye-witnesses of similar scenes, but I have never heard of any effectual punishment. The instances that Judge Dwinelle gave of trials in his court were unqualified murders, without the slightest particle of mitigation; but you cannot get a jury to hang a man for murdering a Chinaman, I think, in this State.

Much has been said and published to the world concerning the slavery said to exist among the Chinese, and that they are unable to leave the country. We have shown by the foregoing evidence the falsity of the charge. We now produce extracts from a witness called on the part of the anti-Chinese people.

Page 65, Congressional report :

Frederick F. Low, sworn and examined :

Mr Pixley. Without going through all the usual preliminary formalities, I will state that Governor Low was formerly a member of Congress from this State, collector of the port of San Francisco, subsequently Governor, and later minister to China.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. With what favor do you understand their government would receive a proposition on our part to limit this immigration or to cut it off entirely?—  
A. I could not form an opinion.

Q. Would they receive it offensively?—A. It is mere speculation, but I should say they would improve the opportunity to try and limit us in China to a similar degree.

Q. To cut off our intercourse?—A. Yes; that would be the natural outcome of it.

By Mr. PIPER :

Q. Is it not a fact that Chinese labor has a tendency to degrade the dignity of labor?—A. I do not think so.

By Mr. MEADE :

Q. You say they have an arrangement with the steamship companies that no Chinaman shall be taken back to China until he produces a certificate from these companies that he is free from debt?—A. They will not take a Chinaman back unless in that way. That was the arrangement.

Q. Is it a written contract?—A. No; it is an understanding between them; no written contract. In other words, they say that it is proper for a Chinaman to pay his debts before he leaves the country, and they want to see that his debts are paid.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you regard Chinese labor as in the nature of slave labor here?—A. No; I do not.

Q. The Chinese labor, as between them and their employers here, do you regard in the nature of free labor entirely?—A. I think so.

Q. Is there a surplus of labor on this coast, taking the two kinds together?—A. At the present moment, I should say no.

Q. Has there been at any time?—A. Never, in my opinion.

By Mr. KING :

Q. You think there is not a surplus of labor in the State at the present time?—A. Yes, sir; in my opinion there is no surplus.

Q. You think that the labor of the Chinese is not any cheaper in comparison than white labor in the Eastern States?—A. I should think not.

To further show the *ex parte* character of the State Senate Committee's report, we call your attention to the extract from evidence of ex-Governor, ex-Member of Congress and late Minister to China, the Hon. F. F. Low. Governor Low's testimony covers quite eleven pages, taken before that committee, and from his long residence in China and high standing as a citizen, his testimony would be and is exhaustive as well as disinterested. Yet in the memorial laid before you, page 29, he is quoted, and only one line and a half, thus, page 5, evidence:

That the immigration comes, with but slight exceptions, from the single Province of Canton, and that it is of the lowest class.

And what makes it a disgrace and a humiliation to a truth loving people is, Governor Low gives no such evidence, but says,

Evidence, page 5, State Senate Committee investigation:

Mr. McCOPPIN.

Q. Don't the Chinese come from different parts of China to Hong-Kong to take ships there, just as emigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland used to go to Liverpool?—A. Yes, sir. But take the Chinese here and you would.

not find one in a thousand—probably one in five thousand—but that came from Kwang-tung, the province of which Canton is capital. There are their homes; they are all from one section of the country. We have Anglicized Canton, made that name out of the original Chinese words “Kwang-tung.” So far as it appears from all evidences, all the emigrants from Hong-kong are freemen; indeed, I understand that the British emigration law forbids anybody but voluntary emigrants embarking; forbids a vessel clearing unless all the emigrants on board are voluntary emigrants, and that is to be certified to before the vessel can have a clearing.

Mr. EVANS:

Q. You are then of the impression that the people do not come here as peons, under contract—that that theory is not correct?—A. No, sir.

Had Governor Low's evidence been quoted in full in the State Senate Committee's memorial to Congress, it would have completely stultified the evidence of a large number of the witnesses to whose evidence your especial attention is called by that publication.

It is due to you, as the representatives of this great nation, that your attention should be called to the status of the witnesses, whose evidence is placed before you, representing both sides of this question on behalf of the State Senate Committee. Extracts from the testimony of twenty-eight witnesses is placed before you; thirteen are officeholders, ten of whom are connected with the police and police courts, not one of whom had failed to indorse the platforms of the “anti-coolie” organizations in order to obtain their places. Three are Chinese, one under pay of the city police, one county official noted for his anti-coolie sentiments, one supervisor who has made his name famous as the author of the cubic air and cue-cutting ordinances. Such is the so-called disinterested evidence presented for your consideration.

With a view, and for the purpose of showing the other side of this question, we herewith submit the evidence of the best citizens of California, men of undoubted honesty and integrity, taken from every calling, representatives of all that goes to build up society and develop the vital and best interests of any community or State, composed of judges, bankers, merchants, farmers, railroad officers, manufacturers, physicians, clergymen, secretaries, ex-foreign ministers and consuls, missionaries, insurance agents, editors and lawyers, nearly all of whom are pioneers, and have grown up with and noted the moral, social and political advancement of California from her infancy to the present time. It is the sworn testimony of such that the Chinese residents of California place before you for your consideration and judgment, and not men occupying official positions, or aspiring thereto, who endorse and pledge themselves to every anti-coolie, and other secret organizations brought into existence to persecute our people, that they

may secure the suffrages of this irresponsible class. Such evidence cannot be disinterested.

OUTRAGEOUS TREATMENT OF THE CHINESE.

Our people have just cause to complain of the manner in which they have been treated. Coming here under the most solemn treaty assurances and obligations, agreed upon by two great nations, the one Christian, in its civilization, the other pagan, with the most profound assurances that the compact was to be the supreme law of the land, and reciprocal in all its workings, that the two peoples were to protect each "from all insult or injury of any sort," that they should "not insult or oppress each other for any trifling causes, so as to produce an estrangement between them." Have these obligations been carried out as becomes a great and Christian nation like the United States, the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed? Is it a Christian civilization that greets us upon the threshold by mob violence and follows our residence by obnoxious, cruel and discriminating laws? We might produce page after page rehearsing the outrages committed upon our people. In this connection we beg leave to call your attention to an extract from the report of a joint select committee, appointed by the Legislature of California in 1862, to inquire into the Chinese question.

Page 1192, Congressional report :

HON. R. F. PERKINS—*Chairman* : Your committee were furnished with a list of eighty-eight Chinamen, who are known to have been murdered by white people, eleven of which number are known to have been murdered by collectors of foreign miners' license tax—sworn officers of the law. But two of the murderers have been convicted and hanged. Generally, they have been allowed to escape without the slightest punishment.

The above number of Chinese who have been robbed and murdered, comprise probably a very small proportion of those which have been murdered; but they are all which the records of the different societies or companies in this city show. It is a well-known fact that there has been a wholesale system of wrong and outrage practiced upon the Chinese population of this State, which would disgrace the most barbarous nation upon earth.

Fifteen years have elapsed since that investigation, and who can say there has been any cessation of these murders and outrages.

S. Wells Williams, late Secretary of Legation at Pekin, in a recent publication calls attention to how faithfully the Chinese government has observed this compact, in the following words :

"By this article, the United States have bound themselves to treat the Chinese, as they ask them to treat American citizens, in a way which they have not bound themselves to do with any other nation. In China, its spirit and letter have, on the whole, been well carried out. In 1848, three men were executed for the murder of Rev. W. M. Lowrie, and six more banished; and in 1856, a man was executed at Fuhchau for killing Mr. Cunningham in a mob. This was by the Chinese authorities."

This government cannot evade the responsibilities it assumed by the arguments of the petty politician and demagogue, who, if not directly aiding the incendiary to apply the torch to the property of Chinese residents, gives his endorsement to the extreme and forcible measures adopted, and joins in the hue and cry of persecution. What has been demanded for the infinitesimal destruction of the property of Americans resident in China, in comparison with the wholesale destruction of the property of Chinese residents here! Mr. Williams further says:

To say that the great majority of Chinese now in our borders are fairly treated, and have been paid their wages, and that the cases of outrage and unredressed wrong form the vast exception, is simply to evade the responsibility which rests on a Government to secure protection to every individual within its jurisdiction. The Government of the United States properly requires and expects that every American citizen visiting or residing in China, shall be treated justly by the Chinese Government, and its consuls dwelling at the ports would soon be recalled if they failed to do their utmost to redress wrongs suffered in life, limb, or property by the poorest citizen. The Imperial Government has already paid out about \$800,000 to indemnify the losses of our citizens within its territory. Some of these losses were incurred by the direct act of British forces setting fire to the houses of Americans, and in no case, almost, were they caused by direct attacks on them as such. Mission chapels have been destroyed, or pillaged by mobs at Tientsin, Shanghai, Fuhchau, and Cauton, and indemnity made in every case.

How mortifying is the record of robberies, murders, arsons, and assaults, committed on peaceable Chinese living on the Pacific Coast, not one of whom had any power to plead their case, and most of whom probably suffered in silence! Do we excuse ourselves from fulfilling treaty obligations, the most solemn obligations a nation can impose on itself, and whose infraction always ought to involve loss of character and moral power, because the Chinese Government is a pagan government, and weak, too, as well? Can this nation look quietly on while Chinese are murdered, and their houses burned over their heads, in California, and no one is executed for such murders, or mulcted for such arsons; and then excuse itself for such a breach of faith because these acts were committed in that State, and no Chinese consul is there to plead officially for redress? It is not implied by this that no murderer has ever been executed for taking their lives, or robber punished for his crimes, but every one knows that such criminals do escape punishment, and that the Chinese in that State feel their insecurity and weakness. Woe be to them if they should attempt to redress their own wrongs!

#### EXAGGERATION OF THE QUESTION.

It is difficult to conceive why Congress should be memorialized in reference to the importation of Chinese prostitutes, in 1877, when that body passed a law in 1875, which completely stopped that class of immigrants arriving in the United States, the Chinese giving all aid in their power to effect this legislation. The act is discriminating in its effects alone against natives of China, notwithstanding it was shown in evidence before the Congressional Committee that the same class was, and are now, brought here for the same purposes, but were of the Caucasian race.

We do not desire to intimate even that the influences which

keep up this agitation (long after the act of Congress referred to), comes from this class, through our opponents, but we do declare that they charge that it is bringing disastrous results, on the same principle that Chinese *cheap* labor is ruining our fair land and degrading our youth, "and effecting *every* calling."

To show how necessary it is for our statesmen to constantly keep this question before the people, and to carry out their pledges given to the anti-Coolie element, and at the same time show the exaggerated statements sent forth in what ought to be, in manifestos from high authority, of undoubted and undeniable facts. Yet Governor Irwin, in his message, delivered yesterday, December 6th, says:

"It is unnecessary that I should make an argument to demonstrate the evils of Chinese immigration. In this State and everywhere on this coast, they are universally, or next to universally conceded. Nor are these evils regarded as of any ordinary character. The presence of the Chinese in this State in large numbers, with steady additions thereto through immigration, from the exhaustless hive in China, not only threatens an irrepressible conflict between the American and Chinese civilizations, but has actually initiated such conflict. If the right of unlimited immigration is conceded to the Chinese, as it is under the Burlingame treaty, and if Chinese immigrants are guaranteed in all the rights that immigrants from the most favored nations are, as they are under the same treaty, what is to prevent the triumph of their civilization in a modified form in its conflict with ours? Every one conversant with the state of affairs in this State, knows that if the present conditions guaranteed by the Burlingame treaty continue, there is imminent danger of precisely that result.

"Nay, I may go further, and say that that result is as certain as any event can be which is yet in the future; but upon this condition only, that the Chinese shall enjoy perfect and absolute protection here. Under the provisions of the Burlingame treaty their right to protection here is as perfect as is their right to come here. If, then, they shall be protected in their treaty rights—their right to come here and be protected while here—we shall most certainly be so far vanquished in the conflict that the resulting civilization will be essentially different in its character from the civilization of the Mississippi valley and the Atlantic seaboard.

"But it is not always possible for a government to do what it is legally and morally bound to do. It may be unable to furnish the protection which its treaty obligations and the laws of humanity require it to furnish. I have said an irrepressible conflict between the Chinese and ourselves—between their civilization and ours—has already been initiated. Now, if the unrestricted right of immigration shall continue to be secured to the Chinese, and they shall continue to exercise the right, there is danger, great danger, that this conflict will become so sharp, bitter and determined, that it will be difficult, or even impossible for the government—national or State, or both—to secure to them the protection to which they would be entitled, both by treaty and the laws of humanity. We are in imminent danger of this contingency, and will continue to be, as long as the Chinese shall continue to exercise the rights guaranteed them by the Burlingame treaty."

We most respectfully refer you to the facts embodied in evidence in the foregoing pages in refutation of every idea embodied in the foregoing extract, as well as the Senate Committee's "exhaustive report."

We now call your attention to the message of Mayor Bryant of this city, delivered to the Board of Supervisors, December 3, 1877, wherein the Chinese question is discussed thus:

“THE CHINESE.

“The last two years have seen a marked development of the Chinese question. The large number of people constantly arriving on these shores, and already here, have caused excitement, disturbances of the peace, and great uneasiness in the public mind.

“In the early months of 1876 the Chinese immigration was alarming, for its almost countless numbers.”

Mayor Bryant's competitor in the late municipal election would not endorse the anti-coolie secret organization resolutions and was defeated by about fifteen hundred votes.

The Hon. J. F. Swift, recently elected to the Legislature from this city, true to his pledges, which caught the “agitators' vote,” hastened on the first days of the session to say:

WHEREAS, The citizens of California, after a practical experience with the Chinese population in this State of more than 27 years, have become convinced of the following facts connected therewith:

*First*—That the Chinese who come to California consist almost exclusively of adult males, ignorant of our language, religion, customs and civilization, and that practically they remain so during their continuance among us; *that they come with no intention or desire of permanent residence*; that the Chinese, when they have amassed a certain sum of money, *invariably return to their own country*, but only to give place to other adult Chinese males, equally ignorant of our language and customs, so that the Mongolian population remains, after twenty years' aggregate residence, and always must remain, an alien and degraded race settled in our midst, having no sympathy or interest in common with our people, pernicious in time of peace, and useless, if not dangerous, in time of war.

The italics are ours. The Governor thinks they will stay here and overwhelm our civilization. Mayor Bryant sees in the “countless numbers” coming a second deluge. Mr. Swift says they don't stay nor ever have. Mr. Swift has never been classed as a political demagogue, and to prove his statements are based upon actual facts, we submit the following official document in reference to the overwhelming and “countless numbers,” wherein our civilization—if this thing goes on—Governor Irwin declares will be “vanquished.”

CUSTOM HOUSE, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., }  
COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, December 7, 1877. }

Statement of arrivals and departures of Chinese passengers at the port of San Francisco, from June 1st, 1876, to December 7th, 1877—eighteen months:

Departed .....	5086
Arrived .....	4894
Excess of departures over arrivals.....	192

T. H. CRAIG, Col. Customs Clerk.

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, December 7, 1877.

I certify the above to be a correct transcript from the records of this office.

[SEAL.]

JAS. W. McNABB, Deputy Collector.

How much more statesmanlike it would have been if His Excellency had stated the actual facts, whereby he could have allayed this "imminent danger," quieted the frenzy of the timid, and withheld the implied threat that neither State or national force could put down this mob spirit if Congress don't do this or that. The Custom House records were within easy reach. His Honor Mayor Bryant did procure this data, but his message fails to note this fact: That more Chinamen were returning than arriving, "in countless numbers."

In reference to the Burlingame treaty, our Governor insists that it is the cause of all his anxiety, and his anti coolie friends demand through him its abrogation, notwithstanding the fact that our whole Chinese immigration comes from the British port of Hong Kong.

S. Wells Williams says, page 1249, Congressional report:

I have heard the suggestion that a ready means of excluding the Chinese would be to abrogate the existing treaty between us and them, especially Article V of the Burlingame treaty.

Not to lay stress upon the fact that this portion of the treaty was urged upon the Chinese authorities by our own Government, and they accepted with some hesitation, allowing fourteen months to elapse before they would exchange the ratifications, it may be accepted as certain that even if this fifth article was abrogated, it would have little or no effect upon the emigration.

The imperial government can no more control the movements of its subjects, or keep them within its territories, than the President can restrain those of our citizens; neither power can control or limit emigration or travel. Moreover, as few or no Chinese go to the United States from China itself, and no treaty between these two countries could influence emigration from British territory, or prevent ships loading at Hong Kong from receiving passengers, the proposition shows how little the question has been studied. It would furthermore be a strange proposal to make to the court of Peking, to abrogate an article in a treaty almost forced on its acceptance, less than ten years ago, because the Emperor's subjects had acted on its suggestions more extensively than we expected.

Your attention is called to the foregoing facts, in contradiction to the blind exaggerated assertions of our politicians, the whole tendency of which is readily seen.

IN CONCLUSION,

The United States and the Imperial Government of China recognize "the inherent and inalienable right" of either peoples to change their home and allegiance respectively, for the purposes of residence, trade or commerce, and each government reciprocally agrees to protect the citizens of both nations to the fullest extent, to that end. A large portion of our people have adopted commercial pursuits in this country, and from small beginnings have greatly aided in opening up a large and increasing trade between our respective countries. Every year we have noticed with plea-

sure its great increase, nurtured and fostered under these obligations, until now it reaches tens of millions in value annually. Who can foretell the future growth of trade and commerce between these two great and populous nations? Other foreign countries, who have heretofore enjoyed a large percentage of the commerce of the Orient, are looking with jealousy at the steady divergence of that traffic towards the United States—"the most favored nation." Great and powerful nations for a century have been endeavoring to break down the "Chinese wall of exclusiveness," that they might share her valuable commerce. England and France accomplished their object, after a great sacrifice of life and treasure.

This government adopted a far different course. It approached the Imperial Government of China with the "olive branch" of peace argument and reason, and succeeded in obtaining greater privileges than had been accorded to European governments, who backed their demands at the cannon's mouth; and since that time our commerce with China has continued to unfold itself into ever-enlarging circles.

You, as the law-makers of this great nation, are to decide whether you are to foster the existing relations between these two peoples and governments, or succumb to the demands of a faction, composed almost wholly of an agrarian element, of foreign birth, who make the Chinese question a pretext, endorsed and led by political demagogues and backed by the incendiary appeals of a daily press, located in the city of San Francisco. Where is your boasted independence, when an agrarian mob dictates what kind of labor you must employ? Where is your boasted freedom of speech, when a daily press dare not discuss both sides of a question or speak a word in favor of an abused and persecuted stranger? Where is that liberty your fathers fought for, that a mob, led by aliens, can undisturbed hold their daily gatherings, and threaten to hang your best citizens, burn their property and denounce them as thieves? And where does this lawless element look for encouragement, but to that class who occupy a higher political plane, whose exaggerated opinions concerning the Chinese we have quoted.

We make another reference to Governor Irwin's message, he says :

In justice, also, to the officers in the several counties, judicial and otherwise, who are charged in any manner with the duty of administering the laws, or of arresting, trying and punishing those guilty of breaking them, I desire to bear my testimony to the fidelity and impartiality with which they have discharged their respective duties. The Chinaman has had his rights adjudicated in the courts with the same fairness and impartiality that the

immigrant from any other country, or the citizen has had his; and the invader of the rights of the Chinaman, whether of person or of property, has been pursued with the same vigor, and punished with the same severity, as the invader of the rights of the white man.

In the name of international justice and right we ask His Excellency to answer. When our people were driven from Antioch, their property destroyed and lives threatened in open day, who was punished? Who, when our people's houses were set on fire by members of the order of Caucasians, near Truckee, and our people shot down as they attempted to escape was punished? Who, when quite recently they were driven from Rocklin, Penryn and Secret Ravine, and their property committed to the flames, was punished?

Is it necessary to call His Excellency's attention to the July riots in this Christian city, where their property was destroyed by wholesale; one of our countrymen murdered for daring to defend his domicile and his body thrown into the flames. Can his Excellency "bear testimony to the fidelity" with which the perpetrators of these recent outrages were punished? Is there one of the actors an inmate to-day of your jails or State Prison?

We now submit to your judgment the foregoing, and ask in the name of humanity a careful consideration of all its bearings, and most urgently do we seek and desire a comparison of the evidence for and against us. We do not desire to approach you as suppliants, as one of the fundamental principles of this great government is "that all men are born free and equal."

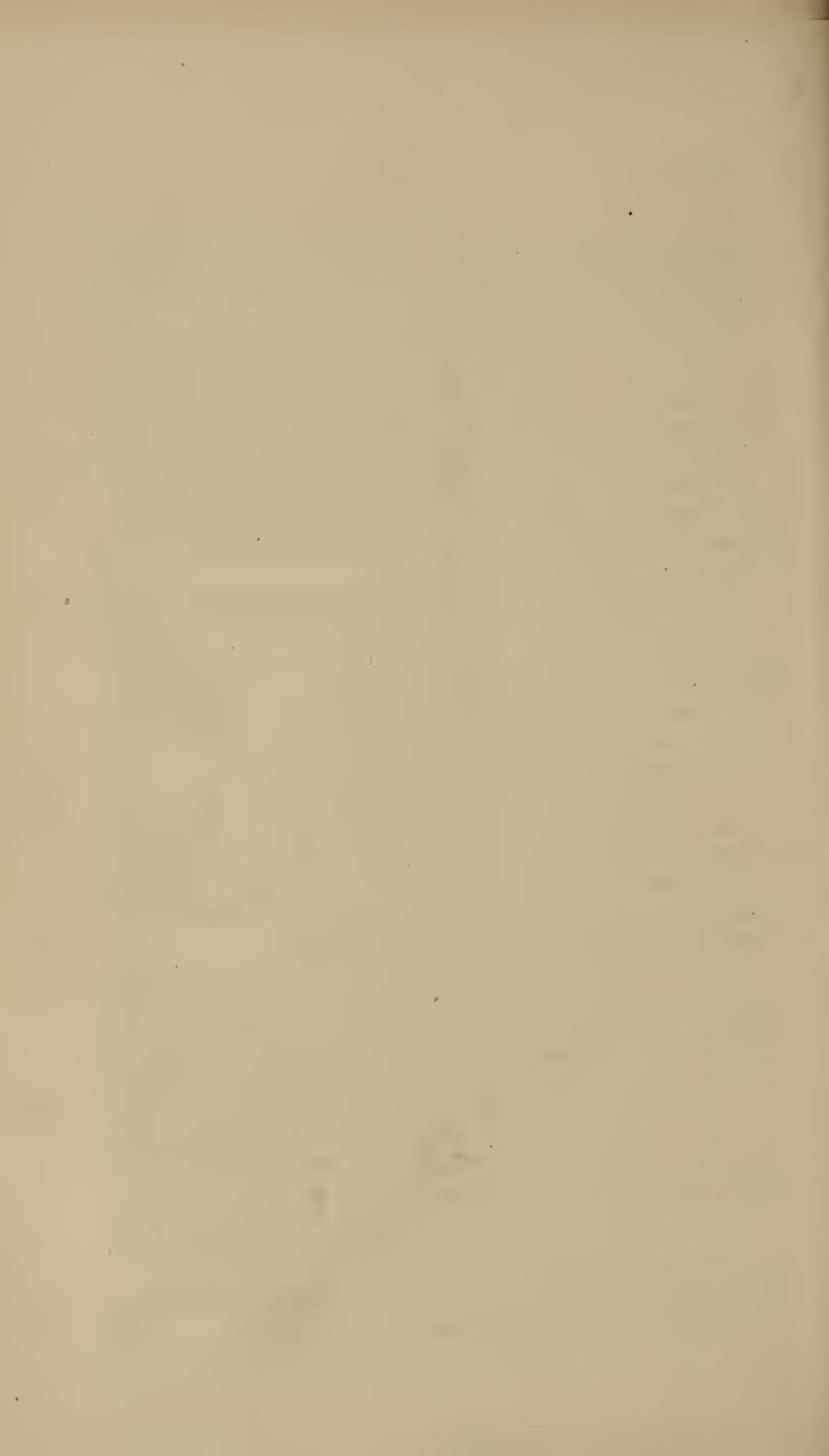
With due respect to the high position you occupy, we deem it but just that if you are to legislate upon a matter of such vital importance to the future relations between two great nations, it is due to you and those you represent that you have a correct knowledge and complete understanding with a clear conception of all the material facts connected with this, to us, important question. No good result can follow any action of yours if your conclusions are formed from exaggerated representations, however plausible they may have been presented to your notice.

Therefore to the statesman and philanthropist we submit our case, believing that whatever action is taken, it will be governed by justice and fairness.

(Signed)

SIX CHINESE COMPANIES.

SAN FRANCISCO, December 8, 1877.







CAL.



# THE OTHER SIDE

OF THE

## Chinese Question

by

*Augustus Layne*

TESTIMONY

OF

CALIFORNIA'S LEADING CITIZENS

---

READ AND JUDGE.

San Francisco, February, 1886.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

Woodward & Co., Printers, 522 California st.





# THE OTHER SIDE

OF THE

# CHINESE QUESTION

---

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

AND THE

HONORABLE THE SENATE  
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

---

## TESTIMONY

OF

CALIFORNIA'S LEADING CITIZENS

---

READ AND JUDGE

SAN FRANCISCO, FEBRUARY, 1886



## MEMORIAL.

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*To the People of the United States and the Honorable the  
Senate and House of Representatives:*

Again the "Chinese Question" is before the Congress of the United States. The little "yellow man" is again represented as working ruin and desolation all over this great empire. He is the factor of factors; from the "Sand Lot" he works his way up until the national conventions are reached. When the returns are all in, a rest is taken, until Congress convenes. He has now reached that point for the tenth time. Sixty millions of people are waiting to see what is to become of the eighty thousand Chinese residents of the United States—whose fate is now in your hands. To guide you in your action, the Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco have issued a book in which the Chinaman is held up to view as the embodiment of all that is vile and monstrous. The telegraph announces that large numbers have been given to members of Congress. Hence this publication.

There are various methods adopted here on the Pacific Slope by political demagogues to bring before the people their claims for office. The first step is, invariably, to denounce the Chinese. The report of the Board of Supervisors is no exception. The individual who is the author and father of this report expects that it will give him the nomination of Mayor of this city. He says in his book edition, that no one has been bold enough to attack a single statement of fact contained in his report. He might, with the same propriety, assert that no one was bold enough to controvert the Sand Lot demagogue's Sunday oratory. The writer of this has no hesitation in denouncing the report as false, misleading and untrue, built up from a grain of truth. The independent press commented freely on this report. The *Argus* said, in its issue of July 25:

“ But there are other portions of the city not inhabited by the Chinese, in which the sanitary conditions and moral atmosphere are not a whit better, and which deserve quite as much attention at the hands of the authorities as does the section described by the committee. ‘ Tar Flat’ and the ‘ Barbary Coast’ afford particularly fine fields for investigation and missionary effort, and *there are numerous ‘ patches’ south of Howard street and west of Fifth that can hold their own for unadulterated immorality, death-dealing filth, and general cussedness against any part of Chinatown.* These places, too, should have been visited and ‘ surveyed,’ and the findings included in the report. \* \* \* *Such rot is unworthy of the men who composed the committee and presented the report.*

“ IT IS THE VERIEST DEMAGOGISM.

“ The Chinaman has many vices—smokes opium, plays ‘ tan,’ buys lottery tickets, and does a great many other things that he should not do—but he is industrious, frugal, temperate, peaceful, and he pays his debts and ‘ washes his slate’ at the close of the year. His white brother has all of his vices and but few of his virtues. Hence we do not believe that it would be good policy, even were it possible, to compel him to adopt the ways of the white race. He should be compelled, however, to obey the laws of the land, and keep his person and premises in good sanitary condition. Having done this, nothing more should be exacted of him than is exacted of any other foreigner who takes up his abode in our midst.”

The *Ingleside* comments as follows on the report of the Board of Supervisors:

“ Almost everything in our municipality is for sale. Is it surprising that the Mongol should avail himself of the full measure of the advantage to be derived from the judicious use of a well-filled purse? What matters if he does pay for the privilege of becoming a trader on our shores? His superior thrift and industry will soon come into play. He can afford to pay tribute and hush money to a few for the privilege of despoiling the many. His is a Pilgrim’s Progress with few halting

“ places after all; a costly ferry or a cheap plank, this is the  
“ initial cost. Then comes the yearly tax, and the rest is all  
“ play and no work. Mr. Farwell and his committee may in-  
“ vestigate Chinatown till doomsday, but to what purpose. Chi-  
“ natown is a part of San Francisco. There are laws and ord-  
“ inances enough already if there is some effort to carry them  
“ out. But here's the rub. The same masters who put Mr.  
“ Farwell & Co. into office are ready to protect the policeman  
“ who walks with hollow step but full pocket the streets of sub-  
“ sidizing Chinatown. *The officers who are to enforce the law wax rich and prosperous by allowing it to be broken.* As for exposés,  
“ such as we have recently been treated to by the Board of Su-  
“ pervisors, these are more useful to the peeler than to the pub-  
“ lic. The ruddy light of supervisorial indignation will only  
“ the better serve to illuminate the consciences of those forget-  
“ ful citizens of new China who have not been paying back-  
“ scheesh with the regularity and promptness desirable to the  
“ collector. Judge Hoffman is right. Punishment begins at  
“ home.”

The *News Letter*, one of the oldest journals of this coast says:

“ THE CHINATOWN REPORT.

“ The report on Chinatown, just presented to the Board of  
“ Supervisors, is more than usually sensational and misleading.  
“ We cannot believe that the number of Chinese residents has  
“ increased since the census, and, indeed, it is scarcely probable  
“ that their number is over 20,000, considering the restricted  
“ immigration and the large exodus of the last few years. Nor  
“ has the overcrowding been increased, while the general sani-  
“ tary condition of the district has undoubtedly been improved.

“ The ‘reporters’ are greatly exercised by finding that the  
“ health of the Chinese compares more than favorably with that  
“ of the white citizens, and this, notwithstanding the constant  
“ and universal violation of accepted hygienic rules. “ With  
“ open cesspools, exhalations of ill-constructed water-closets,  
“ sinks, sewers and urinals tainting the air with noxious vapors;  
“ with people herded together and packed in damp cellars, liv-  
“ ing, literally, the life of vermin, badly fed and badly clothed;

“ addicted to the daily use of opium to the extent that many  
“ hours of each day and night are passed in the delirious stupe-  
“ faction of its influence, *the general health of the locality com-*  
“ *pares more than favorably with other sections of the city, which*  
“ *are surrounded by far more favorable conditions.*” And then,  
“ with curious inconsistency and ignorance of hygienic laws,  
“ they proceed to ascribe this immunity from disease and death  
“ to the general habit of fumigation, and our great surprise is  
“ that the habit of gambling was not also lauded as a means of  
“ preventing fear and the acceptance of disease.

“ Now, we have no belief whatever in the sanitary value of a  
“ polluted atmosphere, no matter how that pollution is produced.  
“ We take our stand in favor of fresh, pure air, abundantly sup-  
“ plied. It seems to us absurd that any people can be healthy  
“ who are herded and packed away in damp cellars, with less  
“ than 150 cubic feet of space per head, and that scanty supply  
“ contaminated with the foul and disgusting fumes of tobacco,  
“ opium and wood. And we confess to a stronger faith in the  
“ efficiency of hygienic laws than to suppose that the lives of  
“ any people can be prolonged by their constant violation.  
“ Either, then, the facts are misrepresented or the inferences are  
“ false and delusive. But if the health of the Chinese does, in-  
“ deed, compare in any respect whatever more than favorably  
“ with that of other citizens, it is clearly because the general  
“ sanitary condition of the city must be worse than that of  
“ Chinatown.

“ Neither the cause of sanitation nor the interests of public  
“ morality are promoted by the statements of this report, which  
“ is the result of violent prejudice and a profound ignorance of  
“ sanitary questions. The reporters have made a comparison  
“ between things which are totally unlike to each other both as  
“ regards their character and surroundings. The sanitary con-  
“ dition of San Francisco is not truly represented by the rate of  
“ mortality, nor is that of Chinatown. \* \* \* But the sani-  
“ tary surroundings of the Chinese are better than those of the  
“ whites. The twelve blocks of Chinatown are probably the  
“ very best in the city, from a sanitary point of view. They

“ lie upon a gentle slope, towards the south and east, well-exposed to the sun, and well-sheltered from the Pacific gales and fogs. These blocks are well-raised above the level of the outfall sewers, most of which are filled with filth. The sewers have an excellent grade. The gases rise to escape in Taylor street and Nob Hill. The ventilation is, therefore, excellent. The lavish use of water in the houses of the rich flushes out the sewers of Chinatown, and keeps them comparatively clean and sweet. There is more stagnant filth in one block of Howard street than there is in all Chinatown. It is the whites, and not the Chinese, who suffer from the filth disease. Already this month more than a hundred cases of diphtheria have been reported at the Health Office. An inspection of the localities must convince the most skeptical that it is a filth disease. It is found in Minna street, Stevenson street, Howard street, Hinckley street, and in outlying districts, where there is often a complete absence of proper drainage; *but not a single case is found in Chinatown.* Typhoid fever comes from similar localities, but there is none in Chinatown. If cholera were to invade the city, it would find its most suitable home in the stinking, rotten sewers of the Board of Supervisors, and there are few or none of them in Chinatown.

“ Nor do the personal habits of the Chinese favor the production of filth diseases. The reporters only show their ignorance in stating that the Chinese are badly fed and clothed. They live abstemiously, for their work is not laborious, and they are cleanly in their persons. It may be doubted if the opium habit is more destructive than the alcohol abuse. The great bane of the Chinese is undoubtedly overcrowding, both in the workshops and sleeping rooms. The constant inhalation of foul air, both day and night, is very productive of disease, and it is certain that the mortality from consumption, between the ages of 25 and 40 years, is very largely in excess of what it ought to be.”

Pages might be added all of which were bold enough to challenge the truthfulness of the Farwell report. The criticism of

the *News Letter* is based upon a census contained in the report taken by counting the bunks, and crediting two Chinese to each, making the resident population at over 30,000. It then became necessary to examine the death rate, when to the astonishment of this astute supervisor it was discovered that there were 30,000 Chinese who were living in a manner quoted by the *News Letter*, and yet, the general health of this pestilential quarter "compares more than favorably with other sections of the city." All of which is simply bosh. According to this "bunk" census the death rate was far below that of any city in the world, to wit, 15.30 on each one thousand, whereas the death rate of the Chinese population (not the bunks) has averaged for the past five years, 21.50, placing the Chinese population in 1880, (U. S. Census) at 22,000,—

#### THE POPULATION AT PRESENT NOT EXCEEDING 20,000.

The death rate of the Caucasian race has averaged for the same time about 20 on each one thousand.

It is the exception, not the rule, that two Chinese occupy one bed. In this connection it may be well to see to what class this supervisorial report are toadying to, to obtain their votes. The following is from the *Argonaut* of December 26th, 1885,—a weekly journal having a large circulation.

" San Francisco presents a spectacle at which every native-born American has the right to be angry, and every respectable, well-behaved, and decent foreigner has the right to be ashamed. The safety of our property and the security of our lives are being imperiled by the contentions of a set of foreign-born wretches. They take Sunday for their day of wrangle, and have fixed upon an unoccupied central place, in front of the City Hall, for their profane and vulgar clamor. This indecent disputation is over the right of the Chinese to live and labor in this country. The refuse and sweepings of Europe, the ignorant, brutal, idle offscourings of civilization, meet weekly upon the Sand-lot in San Francisco, to determine whether respectable, industrious foreign-born citizens and native-born Americans shall be permitted to treat Chinese humanely and employ them in business vocations, or unite

“ with this idle and worthless foreign gang in driving them into  
“ the sea.” \* \* “ Let every man and every woman of the  
“ O’Donnell and Weissman factions, every beer-guzzling Ger-  
“ man Socialist, every Russian Nihilist, Jew or Gentile, every  
“ chattering French monkey of a Communist, every scowling  
“ Italian lazzaroni; and if there are any native-born American  
“ demagogues, Democratic or Republican, who think they can  
“ make votes from this gang, turn them in; and if, at the tap of  
“ the bell, they do not stop quarreling with their mouths and  
“ turn to fighting in earnest, let the police fire upon them; and  
“ when time is called and either faction surrenders, let the  
“ police give the victors a sound drubbing with their clubs.  
“ \* \* \* Less than four hundred unarmed and unprincipled  
“ foreign blackguards have kept this city in commotion for years.  
“ There are forty thousand intelligent, brave, property-owning,  
“ tax-paying citizens who have now for years been annoyed  
“ with this contemptible and cowardly squad of foreign miscre-  
“ ants, and things grow worse instead of better. *Both political*  
“ *parties, with their respective bosses, are conspiring for their votes.*  
“ *There is a close connecting link between the vagabonds on the*  
“ *outside of the City Hall on Sundays, and the officials on the*  
“ *inside on week days.* The daily press, and all of it except the  
“ *Alta California*, has toadied to them in the past. Our tax-  
“ paying citizens, native-born and foreign, should form them-  
“ selves into precinct clubs, with a central organization some-  
“ thing like the present political one. Let it be secret; let it  
“ exclude every man who has not property to tax; let it take as  
“ much pains to protect life and property, law and order, as  
“ politicians do to get office; let it admit men of all nationalities,  
“ and all religions, and all parties; let it undertake to sustain  
“ the police in taking a responsibility that it now shirks; let it  
“ break up this Sand-lot business; and if a riot ensues, let it be  
“ prepared to fight. Let the impecunious, idle, foreign-born  
“ loafer be disabused of his present impression that gentlemen  
“ will not fight; that men of property have not the courage to  
“ defend it; that men of families have less to fight for or less  
“ willingness to engage in a quarrel for the defense of their

“ fire to the houses of Americans, and in no case, almost, were  
 “ they caused by direct attack on them as such. Mission  
 “ chapels have been destroyed, or pillaged by mobs at Tientsin,  
 “ Shanghai, Fuhchau, and Canton, and indemnity made in  
 “ every case.

“ How mortifying is the record of robberies, murders, arsons,  
 “ and assaults, committed on peaceable Chinese living on the  
 “ Pacific coast, not one of whom had any power to plead their  
 “ case, and most of whom probably suffered in silence! Do we  
 “ excuse ourselves from fulfilling treaty obligations, the most  
 “ solemn obligations a nation can impose on itself, and whose  
 “ infraction always ought to involve loss of character and moral  
 “ power, because the Chinese Government is a pagan Govern-  
 “ ment, and weak, too, as well? Can this *Nation* look quietly  
 “ on while Chinese are murdered, and their houses burned over  
 “ their heads, in California, and no one is executed for such  
 “ murders, or mulcted for such arsons; and then excuse itself  
 “ for such a breach of faith because these acts were committed  
 “ in a *State*.”

Again, in 1868, this great nation pledged the Chinese Empire thus: Article VI., “ citizens of the United States visiting or re-  
 “ siding in China, shall enjoy all the privileges, immunities, or  
 “ exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may be enjoyed  
 “ by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. And re-  
 “ ciprocally Chinese subjects residing in the United States shall  
 “ enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect  
 “ to travel or residence as there may be enjoyed by the citizens or  
 “ subjects of the most favored nation.” Signed by Mr. Burlingame.

Eleven years after, the Chinese question having become a great political petard, the weekly explosions on the Sand lot were felt in the national capitol, and another treaty was demanded, commissioners were sent and the result was the

#### RESTRICTION OR ANGELL TREATY.

Preliminary to this meeting of the Chinese and American Commissioners, a communication was sent to those representing the Chinese Government, in which the following language was

used concerning the resident Chinese then in the United States.

“ Fortunately the relations of the two countries have been of “ unbroken and increasing friendship from the date of the first “ treaty negotiated between them to the present moment. It is “ only natural it should have been so. Without conflicting inter- “ est to disturb their relations, representing in their territorial “ extent, and in their large populations, the power of the two “ great nations which occupy the shores of the Pacific Ocean, they “ are united by the consciousness that free intercourse between “ them, properly conducted, can only be beneficial to both. \* \* \* “ So far as those (Chinese) are concerned, who, *under treaty* “ *guarantee, have come to the United States, that government recog-* “ *nizes but one duty, and that is to maintain them in the exercise of* “ *their treaty privileges against any opposition, whether it takes the* “ *shape of popular violence or of legislative enactment.*” \* \* \*

“ That two great nations discussing such a subject must always “ assume that they will both act in good faith and with due con- “ sideration for the interest and friendship of each other.”

The Chinese Commissioners said, “ The commission might be “ assured that China did not in any way mistrust the motives of “ the United States nor for an instant doubt that the government “ of the United States would act with entire fairness towards the “ Chinese.” See Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881.

After the discussion of all points pertaining to the modification of existing treaties the commissioners agreed upon the following new treaty which was signed at Peking on November 17th, 1880.

“ ARTICLE I. Whenever, in the opinion of the Government of “ the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the “ United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens “ to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good “ order of the said country or of any locality within the territory “ thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Govern- “ ment of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend “ such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. “ The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall “ apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as

“ laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations.  
“ Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such  
“ a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, lim-  
“ itation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall  
“ not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

“ ART. II. Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the  
“ United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curi-  
“ osity, together with their body and household servants, and  
“ Chinese laborers, who are now in the United States, shall be  
“ allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and  
“ shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and  
“ exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of  
“ the most favored nations.

“ ART. III. If the Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other  
“ class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the  
“ territory of the United States, meet with ill treatment at the  
“ hands of any other persons, the Government of the United  
“ States will exert all its power to devise measures for their  
“ protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges,  
“ immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens  
“ or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are  
“ entitled by treaty.

“ ART. IV. The high contracting powers having agreed upon  
“ the foregoing articles, whenever the Government of the United  
“ States shall adopt legislative measures in accordance there-  
“ with such measures will be communicated to the Government  
“ of China. If the measures as enacted are found to work hard-  
“ ships upon the subjects of China the Chinese minister at  
“ Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secre-  
“ tary of State of the United States, who will consider the sub-  
“ ject with him; and the Chinese foreign office may also bring  
“ the matter to the notice of the United States minister at Pe-  
“ king and consider the subject with him, to the end that mutual  
“ and unqualified benefit may result.”

Following this treaty a bill was introduced into and passed by Congress, suspending Chinese immigration for the period of twenty years. This was vetoed by President Arthur on the

ground that it conflicted with the Treaty in this, that a twenty year suspension was unreasonable.

The final result was the passage of the Restriction Act of May 6, 1882.

Finding that portions of this act were somewhat ambiguous, an amended Restriction Act was passed July 5, 1884.

#### THE BURLINGAME TREATY WAS HAILED WITH DELIGHT

all over this land and especially on the Pacific Coast, in San Francisco, where merchants, politicians, and State and municipal dignitaries of both parties vied with each other in ingratiating themselves with the Chinese.

Chinese immigration commenced, and it came none too fast for the labor demand. Works of internal improvement and the reclamation of swamp lands demanded the labor of tens of thousands, while farmers and fruit growers, and the employers of domestics found room for all who came. Foreigners, not natives, finally took up the cry that "the Chinese must go." This emanated from the communistic Sand lot, but both political parties on the Pacific Coast soon joined the hue and cry and passed resolutions against this emigration. A vote of the people upon the subject was ordered to be taken by the Legislature of California at the next general, and the managers of each party had all the tickets printed "against Chinese emigration," notwithstanding the statutes required two propositions to be printed and voted upon, "for Chinese immigration," and "against Chinese immigration." Some 800 or 900 took the trouble to erase the word "against," and insert the word "for;" all the other ballots were cast against. Tens of thousands voting against who did not even know what they were doing. From this it is urged that the people of the Pacific are unanimous upon the question!

Have these solemn treaty obligations been enforced? The outrages perpetrated and now being visited upon these defenseless people should cause every true American to blush with shame and indignation—driven from place to place, their property destroyed, murdered, shot down like wild beasts, the torch applied to their dwellings, and all this is permitted in free

America, in the face of solemn national pledges to the contrary. And worse still: that these crimes and outrages are committed by aliens, who are entitled to no other privileges, immunities or exemptions—*except to vote*—than the resident Chinaman. Had one hundredth part of this treatment been visited upon American residents in China that the Chinese are now daily subjected to in this free and Christian country, can anyone doubt the prompt action that would be taken by this Government, even to the extreme of war.

Having carried out the demands of the political leaders, by making a treaty and enacting a law restricting Chinese from coming to this country, it was said—Now we will have peace. But all such assurances have proved fallacious. The indignities and murderous outrages have increased four-fold. The political demagogue having gained a point, now shouts for more, and demands of Congress the entire exclusion of the yellow man and the expulsion of those here. And Mr. Supervisor Farwell tells members of Congress, in his book, that the Chinese will not adopt our Christian faith and methods, to say nothing of our civilization.

#### THE SIX CHINESE COMPANIES—THEIR ORIGIN AND PURPOSE.

The old cry that the Chinese are bonden slaves has again, for the third time, come to the front. The halls of Congress will soon re-echo the charge; and right here I propose to settle that charge, once for all. The same announcement was made throughout this coast for the first time in 1862. The Legislature of that year appointed a committee to investigate the Chinese generally, and to especially report upon the slavery charge.

In their report the committee say that “They (the Chinese) “ pursue whatever calling they choose, and are as free as any per-“ sons in the State. Upon this head your committee examined “ them at great length and in the most minute and careful man-“ ner; and your committee is satisfied that there is no system of “ slavery or coolyism among the Chinese in this State. If there “ is any proof going to establish the fact that any portion of the “ Chinese are imported into this State as slaves or coolies, your “ committee have failed to discover it.”

Again this question was brought before the Joint Congressional Committee of which the late Hon. Oliver P. Morton was Chairman, who, after an exhaustive inquiry, in his report, (Mis. Doc. No. 20, Senate, 45th Congress, page 13), says: "The evidence established the fact that Chinese labor in California is as free as any other. They all come as free men and are their own masters absolutely. In many cases they borrow their passage money in China, with an agreement to repay from their earnings in this country with a large interest, an agreement which, to their credit be it said, they rarely fail to perform."

If necessary, one hundred pages of testimony could be copied right here, taken before that committee, by witnesses of the highest respectability, all going to show the complete freedom of the Chinese in this country. Mr. Supervisor Farwell attempts to show in his book that slavery exists in China, and hence it is easy to transplant it here.

The Hon. G. F. Seward, late United States Minister to China and a resident there of twenty years, says in his book on "Chinese Immigration," page 156 and 157:

" It was my intention in beginning this chapter to speak of the advanced position which the Chinese Empire has held in regard to slavery, of the democratic quality which pervades its polity, and of the absence of caste among its population. It seems to me, however, that the allegation against the Chinese in California, that their labor is servile in character, has been so fully refuted that I have no occasion to go further, and as I could not do so without encroaching upon space which must be reserved for other purposes, I refrain from a presentation of the facts in this connection. To those who may be disposed to carry inquiry into this domain, I may say that a chapter is given by Dr. Speer, in his really admirable book, 'China and the United States,' to 'Popular Government in China;' and that the most lucid statement which I have seen in regard to the forms of servitude which exist in China, is contained in a report made by Dr. Eitel, interpreter to the government of Hong Kong, which will be found in the *Hong*

“ *Kong Government Gazette* of the 4th of February, 1880.  
“ The system as described is a part of the patriarchal policy of  
“ China, and is so far unlike the slave systems of other  
“ regions, that an injustice is done by speaking of it as slavery.  
“ And, such as it is, it affects in the least possible degree the  
“ class which in other countries is regarded as the essentially  
“ valuable portion of a body of slaves. I mean adult males.  
“ Dr. Eitel declares that he has never seen such a slave, and I  
“ may add that during nearly twenty years residence in China I  
“ have not known a native of that country to whom the term  
“ slave would seem applicable. In the vast majority of cases  
“ the domestic servitude of the Chinese may be regarded as  
“ favorably as the system under which children in the United  
“ States are sometimes bound to masters to learn a trade, or to  
“ assist in their general labors, in consideration of the food and  
“ clothing and other benefits conferred upon them.”

S. Wells Williams, Secretary of the United States Legation, and forty years resident in China, says, Con. Report, page 1,246: “ The word ‘ cooly ’ is of Hindoo origin, and means a day laborer. It is used in China chiefly by foreigners, though it has a currency on the coast ports amongst the natives to designate a common laborer—one who goes out to day’s work, runs and serves as a menial in shops or household.” He says, further, that “ there is no caste among the Chinese, no privileged class or titled aristocracy, on the one hand, claiming rights over their serfs or slaves, on the other, and, therefore, no power inheres in the hands of one portion of society to ship off their drones, or their criminals, or their paupers, to other lands, and thus get rid of them.” In the face of this testimony, undisputable and undeniable, it is now again revived, iterated and reiterated daily by the press, taken up and shouted forth by the Sand lot agitators and demagogues over the whole coast, that the Chinese Six Companies import the Chinese as slaves, bondmen and serfs, contract out their labor, collect their earnings, and exercise all the functions of slave dealers and owners. So persistently has this been asserted on this coast that many good citizens believe it true.

## THE SIX COMPANIES ARE MERE BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

In the early days of California, when tens of thousands of hardy immigrants came to California, they found no government machinery, no courts, no mail service, but only a so-called semi-military Territorial Government. Immigrants from all parts of the United States mingled together for the first time. The Southern fire-eater and the New England man worked the mines in the most friendly manner. To, in a measure, provide for the many facilities left behind them, State headquarters were formed. The writer of this belonged to the New York headquarters. There were several others in the same diggings—the "Palmetto," representing North and South Carolina; the Pine Tree State; and Pike County, made up of Missourians. In each headquarters a registration-book was kept, wherein those hailing from these States registered their names. On the margin was written where the party lived. Once a month a courier copied from the different books the names registered, and went to San Francisco for letters and papers, for which service he received one dollar for each letter and fifty cents for papers. If any of those registered was sick and needed aid and assistance, a committee visited his cabin and attended to his wants. If he died, he was given decent burial; and if he had requested that his body be sent back to his old home, and left sufficient dust to meet the expense, it was done. In '50 and '51, large numbers of Chinese began to arrive in the mines. All the Chinese in the United States came from the one Province of Canton, which province contains six districts or counties. They saw the method adopted by the Caucasian miners to aid their countrymen, and at once imitated his method, by organizing a guild or society representing each district from which they came. They sent their Chinese courier to San Francisco for letters, medicine and orders for provisions, looked after their sick, sent their dead back to China, and imitated the Caucasian method to the minutest particular. The names of each company or guild is the same to-day as then, to wit: The Ning-Yaung, Sum-Yup, Kong-Chow, Yong-Wo, Yen-Wo and Hop-Wah Societies.

When California became a State and all the machinery put in

working order, the native abandoned his organization. But not so the Chinaman. The plan had worked so well that the Chinese merchants who had acted as the agents of the various companies organized and incorporated under the State laws, each association making their headquarters in this city. The same functions are carried out to-day that were over thirty years ago. Every steamship from China brings its package of letters, which are forwarded by mail and express all over the coast and Eastern States. They are now, as they have always been, simply benevolent societies, no more nor less. They have never refused aid to their countryman, nor have they ever failed to respond to the call for help from the American people. They were liberal contributors to the Sanitary Fund during the war; they contributed liberally to scores of calls, notably to the Chicago fire, Michigan forest fires, Memphis and New Orleans (yellow fever), and Iowa cyclone. The writer has been furnished with thousands of dollars to pay the passage of their old, sick and unfortunate back to China. They have their hospitals to care for their sick. From no other country where they have emigrated do they send the bones of their dead back to China. Such a thing is unknown in the Straits Settlements, Peru or Cuba. They simply imitated our custom, and still adhere to it. The exhumation and shipment of bodies in this State is provided for by the most stringent laws.

It is charged that they are tribunals, and hence supersede our laws; in fact, set them at defiance, try their criminals, and subvert the courts,—all of which is simply rot. Occasionally the Presidents act as arbitrators to settle difficulties between their countrymen, neither party being bound by the findings, but can appeal to the courts. They never brought a laborer to this country, nor ever contracted out such laborers. They never have collected a dollar of wages due a laborer. There is not a man or woman, railroad contractor, builder, land reclamation company, farmer, manufacturer, or housekeeper that ever contracted for or obtained a Chinese laborer or servant from any one of the Chinese Six Companies. Upon the arrival of a steamer, a secretary from each organization goes

on board and announces that he will take the names of immigrants coming from his district. These names are entered upon the books of each association. Each company has a president and interpreter. The president is selected for his learning and business qualifications. Three of those now in office belong to the *literati* of China, and are graduates of the Imperial College at Peking.

No fees are collected from members until they depart for China. A Chinaman who has been a resident here for twenty years does not pay a fee until he departs. When he is about to depart he goes to the company's rooms, announces that he is about to depart for China, and then and there makes his first payment to his company of a fee not less than two dollars and fifty cents and no more than eight dollars. He is then given a card which he gives up as he goes on board to an agent of his company. His name is then placed upon the book of departures, giving the date and name of the ship. This payment has exercised the press of this coast to a point of frenzy. It is declared to be the head money collected by their taskmasters.

This is as good a place as any to say, that it has been often demonstrated in California, that no jury can be found who will convict any person for the killing of a Chinaman or newspaper proprietor, the unwritten law of public opinion overrides all criminal statutes in such cases. The true status of the Chinese Six Benevolent Societies or Six Companies, is just what their name indicates, "Benevolent Societies," similar in their operations to the "Odd Fellows," "Friends," "British Benevolent Society," or "New England Society." They are not in the remotest degree connected with any mercantile business, nor do they exercise any influence other than as what they are represented to be, purely, benevolent organizations. Hence the iterated and re-iterated charges made by demagogues and the press, that they are slave dealers, importers of coolie labor, are mastodon falsehoods.

This book, furnished members of Congress by the Supervisors of this city, contains several pages of evidence by police officers and other officials, all tending to show the utter de-

pravity of the Chinese residents. This testimony was taken before a one-sided legislative committee, the Chinese not being permitted to present their side. Later in the same year the Joint Congressional Committee held their investigation in this city, the Chinese being requested to present their side. One hundred and thirty witnesses were examined. Herewith is presented a moiety of the

TESTIMONY GIVEN BY THE LEADING CITIZENS

of California taken from fully five hundred pages of a like character.

REV. OTIS GIBSON. (Both this gentleman and the Rev. Mr. Loomis speak the Chinese language.) Page 406, Congressional Report:

“ The famous ‘ six companies ’ are simply voluntary associations for mutual protection and benefit. It is the universal custom of the Chinese when emigrating to any new country, to at once form themselves into a guild or association of this kind; and every Chinaman from the same region naturally seeks membership in this guild. They at once open a hall or general meeting-place, and often connect with it a temple or altar to the local divinities of their native place. They elect annually their officers in a very democratic way. Differences that arise among members are referred to the officers and leading influential members for arbitration and settlement. Advice and aid are given to the new comer and to the sick. They are not mercantile firms in any sense; neither are they courts of justice, but voluntary associations for mutual aid and benefit. They do not claim, nor do they exercise, any judicial authority.”

The Rev. Mr. LOOMIS says, page 446, Congressional Report:

“ The six companies. These are benevolent guilds. The people from different sections belong to their several companies, analogous to the Hibernia, Saint Andrews, Sclavonian, Italian, German or New England societies. These societies have their by-laws, their presidents, secretaries, treasurers, interpreter, etc. These officers are chosen by ballot every

“ year, and receive their salaries. They are for mutual aid.  
“ For certain benefits which are extended to the members they  
“ are willing to pay the dues and taxes imposed.

“ FREDERICK W. MACONDRAY sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you lived in this  
“ city?—Answer. I have been here twenty-four years or more.

“ Q. You are of the house of Macondray & Co.?—A. I am.

“ Q. It is an old mercantile house here?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Your house has been extensively engaged, I believe,  
“ in the trade with China?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. What have been your relations with the Chinese with  
“ whom you have dealt as to their integrity, honesty and ability,  
“ and as business men?—A. From all our dealings with them  
“ here and in China I do not know any class of merchants, I  
“ think, who are more honest and upright or who have a better  
“ reputation for integrity than the Chinese.

“ Q. To what extent in round numbers do you deal with the  
“ Chinese in a monetary point, annually?—A. Perhaps \$500,-  
“ 000 or \$600,000 a year. We have never lost a dollar by them,  
“ to my knowledge, in twenty-six years.

“ Q. You have business relations with the white people?—  
“ A. Of course.

“ Q. How do they compare with Chinese in their honesty  
“ and integrity as merchants, favorably or otherwise?—A.  
“ They do not compare, of course, as favorably as the Chinese.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. You spoke about \$500,000 or \$600,-  
“ 000 annually being your trade with the Chinese, and I simply  
“ wanted to get at the aggregate of your business?—A. Pos-  
“ sibly half of it is done with the Chinamen.

“ Q. You say you have never lost a dollar in your traffic with  
“ them?—A. Not to my knowledge, never a dollar.

“ Q. Have you had losses?—A. Of course. I only speak  
“ of my own knowledge. I have been in the house some six-  
“ teen years, and in that time I am quite sure that we have  
“ never lost a dollar by the Chinese.

“ Q. Have you had losses? Have you lost by white people?  
“ —A. Certainly, we have. Of course, we must have done  
“ that.

“ Q. Are your contracts with Chinese generally made in writing?—A. No, sir; I do not know that I have ever made a contract with a Chinaman in writing.

“ Q. They are verbal contracts?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Do they comply with them?—A. They do.

“ Q. What is the physical condition of the Chinese who come here?—A. I think their physical condition is good. I think they are healthy and strong.

“ Q. From your observation of the class who have been coming here for 25 years, is it liable to breed disease by coming in contract with our race?—A. I do not know that I am able to pronounce on that subject. I think, as a rule, they are strong and healthy, able-bodied men.

“ Q. You know of no contracts ever having been made for servile labor, here, like the coolie system?—A. No; I never knew a case of that kind. We have never had anything to do with bringing Chinese here or importing them in any way. We have had offers of that character from the Southern States to take them to Louisiana, but never have done anything of the kind at all. I really know nothing about their importation.”

Page 489, Congressional Report.

“ SAN FRANCISCO, November 11, 1876.

“ JOSEPH A. COOLIDGE sworn and examined:

“ By Mr. BEE. Question. Are you Secretary of the Merchants' Exchange.—Answer. I am Secretary and Manager of the Merchants' Exchange.

“ Q. How long have you been in that occupation?—A. Since the organization of the association in 1866.

“ Q. How long have you been in this city?—A. Twenty-seven years, nearly.

“ Q. Please state to the committee what information you have in reference to the Chinese that you come in contact with, whether there are any of them who are members of the Merchants' Exchange. Have you a statement which you could refer to?—A. I have a brief statement which I shall read. We have seven Chinese firms as stockholders and

“ twenty-four as subscribers to the Merchants’ Exchange. The  
“ subscribers are to be seen daily in the room and on ‘change  
“ during the hour; they are intelligent, shrewd, courteous, and  
“ gentlemanly, honorable in their business transactions, and  
“ compare favorably with people of any other nationality. I  
“ have been informed by merchants who have had extensive  
“ business transactions with them that the usual contracts in  
“ writing were unnecessary, their word being a sufficient  
“ guarantee for their fulfillment, and in a term of years, in  
“ which business to the extent of millions of dollars was trans-  
“ acted, not one cent has been lost by bad faith on their part.  
“ I have never been acquainted with a Chinaman in any station in  
“ life who could not read and write in his own language. In  
“ cleanliness of person they are remarkable. I have observed  
“ them closely in their various occupations, and on the streets,  
“ and cannot call to mind an instance of dirty face or hands, or  
“ of soiled garments.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. How long have you been here?—A.  
“ Nearly twenty-seven years.

“ Q. Have you any knowledge of the number of European  
“ immigrants in this city, taking Germans, Irish, English and  
“ all?—A. I have no data upon which to base an opinion.

“ Q. Is the entire European immigration equal to the num-  
“ ber of Chinese?—A. I think not.

“ Q. How do the Chinamen engaged in mercantile business  
“ and in manufactures compare with the European immigrants  
“ who are engaged in the like business, who are merchants,  
“ manufacturers, and so on?—A. I think the Chinese compare  
“ favorably in every respect.

Page 436, Congressional Report.

“ GEO. D. ROBERTS, sworn and examined:

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. You are the president, manager,  
“ or main officer of the Tide-Land Reclamation Company?—  
“ Answer. Yes, sir.

“ Q. How long have you been a resident of this State?—A.  
“ I arrived here in 1850.

“ Q. You have been engaged in business enterprises since that

“ time to develop the interests of this coast, I believe ?—A. All ways.

“ Q. How much tule land has your company reclaimed ? A. The Tide-Land Company proper started in with 120,000 acres. They have been reclaiming portions of it, but not on a large scale, until recently. I suppose we have partially reclaimed 30,000 or 40,000 acres.

“ Q. Will you explain to the commission what you mean by tule-lands ?—A. We call the overflowed lands forming a delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin river, tule-lands, and also lands on the margin of the river farther up.

“ Q. What do you mean by the reclamation of those lands ? What kind of work is it ?—A. Building dikes, gates and ditches, preventing the overflow.

“ Q. What species of labor have you been employing ?—A. Generally Chinamen.

“ By Mr. BEE: Does this class of labor conflict with white labor ?—A. I cannot see that it does. We could not do the work at all with white labor in this State at present.

“ Q. These lands have lain vacant for 25 years ?—A. Yes, sir; they have been of no value at all.

“ Q. Some of those lands have been reclaimed and crops are now raised upon them ?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. What will an acre of this land produce ?—A. We consider fifty bushels of wheat to the acre about an average crop. I have raised as high as ninety-two bushels of wheat, by actual measurement.

“ Q. That land would have lain idle until you could have got it reclaimed by labor ?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Do you believe that the tendency of the Chinese laboring classes of this country is detrimental to white labor ?—A. Possibly, to a certain class of white labor; but, to the general prosperity of the country, I think they are a great advantage. I think they fill the places that white labor would fill very reluctantly, and it would be a long time before we could get white labor to do it. I think the wealth they produce stimulates prosperity to such an extent that it gives white men

“ higher positions. I do not think the presence of Chinese here “ affects the price of intelligent labor. It is possible there may “ be a class of labor that may be affected by it, but to sustain “ that class of labor alone, we would have to hold back the “ enterprise of the country.

“ Q. They have added materially, then, to the wealth of California, in your opinion?—A. In my opinion, the aggregate product of the wealth produced by Chinamen in this State is equal to our mines, including the mines of Nevada and Dakota. Probably they produce sixty, eighty, or ninety millions a year in wealth.

“ Q. Do the Chinese purchase lands or rent lands, to your knowledge?—A. Yes, sir; occasionally; not to any very great extent, but more so recently than formerly. There is a disposition among them now to turn their attention to farming. They think it a more quiet life; they get out of the excitement of the city. Many of them have rented patches, and are paying \$25 to \$30 a year per acre for lands.

“ By Senator COOPER: Q. Twenty-five dollars and thirty dollars a year?—A. Yes, sir; pretty near all the sweet potatoes you get here are raised by Chinamen, on Grand Island and in that neighborhood.

“ By Senator SARGENT: Q. It is alleged that these men came under contract of service, voluntary contracts, but a species of slavery. The question I desire to ask is, whether, because they do come like that, and that they work in droves, and contract through one man, does not account for the efficiency of their labor?—A. I think that is a mistake; that there is nothing of that kind at all. I find my Chinamen entirely independent of the boss. When the bosses do not pay them they come to me. If the boss does not pay them any wages they tie him up and call on us. That has been the case in several instances. I find that each man has his account, and he holds the boss responsible.

“ Q. Are these bosses Chinese?—A. They are Chinese.”

Page 504, Congressional Report:

“ SOLOMON HEYDENFELDT sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you resided in California?—Answer. Nearly twenty-seven years.

“ Q. Were you at one time Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of this State?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. How many years did you keep that position?—A. Five years.

“ Q. You are conversant with the various institutions of California, mining, manufacturing and farming?—A. Tolerably, sir; practically from observation, etc.

“ Q. And with the Chinese question, and legislation in reference to it?—A. I have been an observer of what has been going on for the last twenty-seven years.

“ Q. The committee are here to get information. I should like to have you detail your information as to the facts, if any, since the Chinese advent to California?—A. I think California owes its prosperity very much indeed to the industry of the Chinese who have come to this country. I think without them we would not have our harbor filled with ships; we would not have had railroads crossing our mountains, and we would have been behind, probably, a great number of years. I think we would not have had as many white people here if the Chinese had not come.

“ Q. You think, then, that the Chinese who are among us have conduced to bring white people here and give white people homes and employment.—A. I do.

“ Q. As to the construction of this new railroad, the Southern Pacific, which is some 400 miles in length, would that have been built but for the Chinese, in your opinion?—A. I think not; and I have been assured so by those who are interested in completing it.

“ Q. It has opened a vast territory of farming land to the immigration of this State?—A. It has.

“ Q. Do you think that the benefits of the Chinese among us have been widespread?—A. I do.

“ Q. How do you look upon the Chinese, as a class, for hon-

“ esty, integrity, etc.?—A. I think they are the best laboring  
“ class we have among us.

“ Q. Do you think they compare favorably with other labor-  
“ ing classes?—A. I think they are the best we have.

“ Q. Do they not assimilate with us soon?—A. Hardly.  
“ Give the Chinese a chance and I think they will assimilate  
“ with us.

“ Q. That chance would embrace the elective franchise?—A.  
“ Certainly.

“ Q. Would you be in favor of giving the franchise to the  
“ Chinese the same as to European immigrants?—A. Unques-  
“ tionably. If the one is entitled to it I would give it to the  
“ other; and if the negro is entitled to it, I do not see why it  
“ should not be given to the Chinese.

“ Q. Then you regard the Chinaman as equal in all respects  
“ to the European immigrants?—A. I see no reason why he is  
“ not equal.

“ Q. Is the Chinaman equal in his civilization and morals?—  
“ A. In every respect.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. Your profession is that of a lawyer?  
“ A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Have you been on the bench in this State?—A. Yes,  
“ sir.

“ Q. The supreme bench?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. When was that?—A. From 1852 to 1857.

“ Q. From your acquaintance with the population of Califor-  
“ nia of all kinds, making a general comparison, how does the  
“ morality and the behavior of the Chinese here contrast with  
“ the morality and behavior of an equal number of immigrants  
“ from Europe?—A. Taking the classes that we have here be-  
“ fore us, the Chinese are something better; I think that they  
“ are more faithful, more reliable, and more intelligent.

“ Q. What is their general character in regard to industry?—  
“ A. I think that they have more industry than the correspond-  
“ ing class of whites.

“ Q. How do they compare in regard to keeping contracts;  
“ in their fidelity to engagements?—A. I think they are thor-  
“ oughly reliable and perfectly faithful to their engagements.

“ Q. How does the intellectual ability of the Chinaman, so far as your observation enables you to judge, compare with that of Americans in the same corresponding class?—A. I think their general intelligence is greater. My impression is, from my information and observation, that there are very few Chinamen of the ordinary laboring class who cannot read and write their own language. In my intercourse with them I find them always quick to understand and very quick to appreciate. They exhibit also a ready intelligence, much more so than you will generally find among the ordinary laboring class of whites.”

Page 530, Congressional Report:

“ CORNELIUS B. S. GIBBS, sworn and examined.

“ BY MR. BEE: Question. How long have you been a resident of this State?—Answer. Over twenty-eight years.

“ Q. What is your profession?—A. An adjuster of marine losses.

“ Q. Does your profession bring you in contact with the Chinese merchants of this city and State?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Tell the Committee what your experience has been with them as men of business and men of integrity.—A. As men of business, I consider that the Chinese merchants are fully equal to our merchants. As men of integrity, I have never met a more honorable, high-minded, correct, and truthful set of men than the Chinese merchants of our city. I am drawn in contact with people from all nations, all the merchants of our city, in our adjustments. I have never had a case where the Chinese have attempted to undervalue their goods or bring fictitious claims into the adjustments.

“ BY THE CHAIRMAN: Q. Undervalue or overvalue?—A. I mean undervalue. You see, in general average they pay on the market value of the goods; and as they make the goods less they pay less.

“ BY MR. BEE: Q. Your business is connected with the white race—with the merchant class here?—A. There is not a merchant in this place with whom we do not have business.

“ Q. How do the white merchants compare with the Chi-

" nese ?—A. As a class, I think the Chinese are more honorable than other nationalities, even our own.

" Q. Are those with whom you deal generally educated scholars, mathematicians ?—A. I think they are the best mathematicians I ever saw in my life.

" Q. They are good business men ?—A. Yes, sir; in fact they are the only persons who will go through an adjustment and seem to understand it. I never met a Chinaman that if you gave him any figures to calculate he could not calculate it.

" Q. Take the average of Chinese merchants, how do they compare with the average of American merchants ?—A. Fairly.

" Q. In all respects ?—A. In all respects.

" Q. Are some of them doing a large business ?—A. Yes, sir.

" Q. Are their losses generally adjusted with law suits ?—A. I never had a law suit with them or never had a complaint from them in my life. You have got to get their confidence and explain to them, and they generally go through with the figuring themselves. They can figure very fast and very correctly, and when they are convinced everything is right, there is no trouble. There is no class of people that pay up as quickly as the Chinese. On Saturday we send them notice that the average is closed, and on Monday, by ten or twelve o'clock, all the certificates are paid. I have had fifty and sixty thousand dollars in a case, and they would come straight forward and pay it before twelve o'clock, while we have to send around to the other merchants a month, and sometimes two months, before we get it all from them.

" Q. You think they are distinguished for their promptitude in business ?—A. I do.

" By Senator SARGENT: Q. Do you ever visit these merchants at their homes ?—A. Yes.

" Q. Do you find their houses as cleanly as the houses of American merchants ?—A. Yes, sir."

Page 532, Congressional Report:

“ HERMAN HEYNEMANN sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BROOKS: Question. What is your business?—Answer. A merchant.

“ Q. How long have you been engaged in that business here?—A. Fifteen years.

“ Q. What is the character of your business?—A. I am engaged in importing goods, also in manufacturing.

“ Q. What sort of manufacturing?—A. I am president of the Pioneer Woolen Factory and agent of the Pacific Jute Factory.

“ Q. Why do you employ Chinese in your factory?—A. Originally we could not get any others at all. At that time it would have been an absolute impossibility to have run the factory upon white labor, simply because we could not get white operatives.

“ Q. Would the factory have been started with white labor?—A. No, sir. As a matter of fact, even with the Chinese labor, competition has been so active that we have had no dividends whatever.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Question. What is their character for industry and fidelity?—Answer. I have found in our factory during the last fifteen years that we have not had a single case before the Police Court. All these Chinese laborers live on the premises. They have a building there; and we have not a single case of any kind before the Police Court of murder, or rows among themselves, or theft upon the proprietors. I think that speaks well for them. I think there are few factories run entirely by white labor, where the laborers live on the premises, that could say that much.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Question. What is the cause, in your judgment, of the hostility to the Chinese?—Answer. The same cause that has been prevalent all over the earth—strangeness of manners. It used to be in England that any man who did not speak English was a ‘bloody foreigner.’ It did not make any difference whether he was the best man in the world, he was a ‘bloody foreigner,’ and it was the height of contempt

“ to use that expression. I am just of the opinion of Mr. Wheeler: If this race, instead of keeping themselves in their peculiar dress, were to drink whisky and patronize the bars to-day, just like others do, the prejudice would disappear immediately.”

Page 542, Congressional Report:

“ RICHARD G. SNEATH SWORN and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you resided in this State?—Answer. A little over twenty-six years.

“ Q. You are the President of the Merchants' Bank, I believe, at present?—A. I am Vice-President and Manager.

“ Q. You were President of the Merchants' Exchange a few years ago, I believe?—A. I was President of the Chamber of Commerce and Manager of the Merchants' Exchange.

“ Q. You have had extensive dealings with the Chinese?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. I wish you to give your opinion to the committee in reference to their honesty.—A. I have been a merchant most of my time in California. I have dealt a great deal with the Chinese merchants in this city particularly. I have always found them truthful, honorable, and perfectly reliable in all their business engagements. I have done business with them perhaps to the amount of several millions of dollars. I have never had a single one of them to fail to live up to his contracts. I never lost a dollar by them, one way or the other, in all my business engagements with them.

“ Q. Could you say that much of the white race?—A. No, sir.

“ Q. During the time that you were a merchant you came in contact with these people in large transactions?—A. O, yes; quite large.

“ Q. Did it not get to be common during the time you were in mercantile pursuits that a Chinaman's word would be good for a cargo of goods while a bond would be demanded of white men?—A. I think it was a rule, as a general thing, that we entered into a written contract with white men, but with Chinamen we did not.

“ Q. You would take a Chinaman’s word?—A. As a general thing.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Question. What are the general habits of industry of the Chinese?—A. I have employed a good many common Chinese, and find them a very industrious people, and, as a general thing, very reliable. In fact, in a great many situations I much prefer Chinese to white labor. Then, again, as now, I am employing a considerable number of persons, farming pretty extensively, and employ nearly all white men, for the reason that Chinese do not understand farming. It is impossible to understand them and direct them properly on account of not being familiar with their language. They can only be worked in gangs, where they have their own head man; but still, after a while, as they soon take up with our language and pick up a great many mechanical ideas, some of them become very useful. I paid higher wages to Chinamen than I ever paid to white men, as cooks, for instance.

“ Q. What effect has Chinese labor had upon the growth and prosperity of the State, in your judgment?—A. Without the Chinese labor, I do not think there would have been half the material wealth in this State.

“ Q. What effect has the presence of Chinese and their labor had in the increase of the white population here?—A. I am very well satisfied that the presence of the Chinese has furnished more high-priced labor among the white laborers than we could have had here without them.

“ Q. What, in your judgment, would be the policy of restricting Chinese immigration?—A. I should think it doubtful policy just at this time. I think it is a question whether a few more would not be an advantage. \* \* \* I think the presence of the Chinamen here in this State has made us familiar with them and their country and their commerce, and has led us into much closer relations. With the vast number of people they have there, I believe it will eventuate in a very great blessing to the United States; it will furnish an opening for the labor of our skilled mechanics that we have no other opening for, perhaps. They are now using our flour to a very

“ large extent, and they are using a great many things which we  
“ produce here; they are importing live stock of all kinds; they  
“ are importing all kinds of manufactured goods. We have not  
“ been able to compete here with Europe, particularly in rela-  
“ tion to the matter of manufactured fabrics.”

Page 708, Congressional Report:

“ WILLIAM F. BABCOCK sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you been a resi-  
“ dent on this coast?—Answer. Since November, 1852.

“ Q. You are connected with the commercial house of Par-  
“ rott & Co.?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Give the commission your views of the effect Chinese  
“ immigration has had upon this coast in its past, and what  
“ your ideas are of its future. We are here for the purpose of  
“ inquiring into that matter.—A. I think in a new country  
“ cheap labor is absolutely necessary. I think the effect has  
“ been beneficial, and will continue to be beneficial; that instead  
“ of driving out labor by cheap labor it increases it. Labor  
“ begets labor.

“ Q. What effect has it upon the advancement of California?  
“ —A. I think it has been very beneficial.

“ Q. Added materially to our wealth?—A. I think so, in  
“ very many ways.

“ Q. How does the Chinese population in numbers compare  
“ with the white population in numbers now and ten, fifteen, or  
“ twenty years ago? In other words, has the ratio of Chinese  
“ population increased or diminished?—A. I think it has di-  
“ minished.

“ Q. Compared with the whites?—A. I do not think the  
“ Chinamen have increased in this country since 1865. If they  
“ have, they have increased very little indeed, while the white  
“ population has very materially increased, as we all know.

“ Q. Is there apprehension entertained among the intelli-  
“ gent people on this coast of there being too great an influx of  
“ Chinamen?—A. I do not find that to be the case among those  
“ with whom I converse.

“ Q. You know of no such apprehension?—A. I know of no

“ such apprehension, except what I read in the papers. The  
“ newspapers have very great apprehension of it.

“ Q. What, then, is the cause of the strong feeling or prejudice against Chinamen here; there must be some cause for such a state of things; what is it?—A. I think it arises from politicians, office holders, and foreigners, as a general thing. Very many of our population pander to this low taste, you may call it, and join in the outcry against the Chinese in order to get the foreign vote and popularity among them. That is my idea.

“ Q. State whether or not there is a real competition or conflict between Chinese labor and white labor in this State?—A. I think not.

“ Q. Are there more laborers than there is labor for them?—A. I think not.

“ By Mr. PIXLEY: Question. Is it desirable to have within a free commonwealth a non-voting population?—A. Yes, sir; I see no objection to it at all; not a particle. The Chinese do not want to meddle with our politics. They are the most quiet, industrious, and best people I ever saw. They are the most valuable laborers I ever saw in my life. I was up at the Clear Lake quicksilver-mines, in which I am largely interested, four or five weeks ago. There we employ a hundred Chinamen, and it would be almost impossible to get along without them. It is an out-of-the way place.

“ Q. You said you were not employing Chinamen?—A. I am a director in the company. We have got about 80 white men and 120 Chinamen. The superintendent told me that every night of their lives every Chinamen bathed himself from head to foot, and if you had asked that question of Donald McClenan the other day he would have stated the same thing.

“ Q. That was in his testimony.—A. I did not read it. They wash themselves from head to foot. If you go down to Battery street at 4 o'clock in the morning you will see 200 or 300 Chinamen waiting to go into the factories, and if you will look at their hands and feet and neck you will see them as clean and neat-looking people as you ever saw in the world. They are different from the lower white classes.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. As to the general integrity of the Chinese in their dealings, what is your opinion of their integrity as a people?—A. I think they pay their debts of all sorts and kinds ten times more promptly than white people. I believe they pay their rents better and more promptly.

“ Q. What is the character of your Chinese merchants for ability and intelligence, and their manner of doing business?—A. Clear headed, shrewd, smart, intelligent, bright men. They are ordinary-looking fellows, many of them, as you see them going about the streets.

“ Q. Are they capable of managing a large business?—A. To any extent. Especially is that true of the hong merchants of Hong Kong. When Nye failed he owed Han Quo a million Mexican dollars. It never had any effect on Han Quo's business at all whether he lost a million or two millions. If they had proper protection here in this country many of them would bring their money here.

“ Q. What are the Chinese as a nation in regard to mercantile honor?—A. I have never lost a dollar in my dealings with them in the world. As I told you, they are a shrewd class, sharp buyers.”

Page 606, Congressional Report:

“ DONALD McLENNAN sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. You are connected with the Mission Woolen Mills, I believe?—Answer. I am.

“ Q. How long have you been in that business?—A. Sixteen or seventeen years.

“ Q. How long have you been in this country?—A. About nineteen years. \* \* \*

“ Q. How many operatives have you?—A. We have about 600, altogether—about 300 Chinamen and the rest white. \* \*

“ Q. How do you look upon them for honesty?—A. I never found a case of theft among them. It is possible that such things might take place and we not know it; but still we have never discovered anything of the kind or noticed that anything was taken away. \* \* \*

“ Q. The Chinese, therefore, you regard as steady and reliable?—A. Yes, sir; they are a very steady people. I have never seen a drunken Chinamen in my life.

“ Q. Do they ever strike for higher wages?—A. Never. I never knew them to do so. \* \* \*

“ Q. What is the difference in the rate of wages that you pay to the two races?—A. We pay our white men from \$1 75 to \$6 a day, and we pay the Chinamen 90 cents a day.

“ By Senator SARGENT: Q. Are the Chinese large consumers of the goods you manufacture?—A. They are.

“ Q. What line of goods?—A. They buy blankets and underclothing, as well as shirts and drawers, and things of that kind.

“ Q. Then you have a double interest in having the Chinese here?—A. No; I have the same interest that all business men have.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. Do you regard this State as adapted to the production of cotton?—A. Yes, sir; cotton can be raised here very well.

“ Q. What is the reason it is not raised in large quantities?—A. Because the price of labor is too high.

Page 616, Congressional Report:

“ HENRY C. BEALS sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. You are connected with the *Commercial Herald*, of this city?—Answer. Yes, sir.

“ Q. For how long?—A. From its beginning.

“ Q. You are familiar with the commercial business of this coast?—A. I have been for the last twenty-six years or more.

“ Q. Our commerce with China bids fair to make huge proportions?—A. Yes, sir; it is increasing every day, and very rapidly. The China steamers go out twice a month. Mr. Williams, the agent of the Pacific Mail Company, told me the other day that every steamer went out crowded to overflowing with goods and merchandise; that they were obliged to limit one side. The Chinese buy and handle more quicksilver

“ probably, than any other class of people here; they handle  
“ immense quantities. Hong Kong is our great market for  
“ quicksilver.

“ Q. It would be bad policy, then, in your commercial  
“ knowledge, to abrogate treaties, or any portion of treaties,  
“ which would tend to retard and cut off this trade?—A. Yes,  
“ sir; it would be irreparable. I do not think it would be other-  
“ wise than a great injury to the vast commerce of this port.  
“ The amount of business we do with Hong Kong and Chinese  
“ ports here is of vast proportions. We have a score or more  
“ Chinese merchants who themselves do a vast amount of trad-  
“ ing and buying and selling of our own products, such as flour  
“ and wheat. Recently they have increased their demand, and  
“ are drawing very heavily on our local mills here for barley—  
“ early barley—and it is getting to be a trade of very considera-  
“ ble importance. The assortment of goods they take from us  
“ is very steadily and rapidly increasing.

“ Q. And in variety also?—A. In variety; yes, sir.

“ Q. You meet these merchants on 'change daily?—A. Yes,  
“ sir. There are, on an average, twenty Chinese merchants on  
“ 'change every day.

“ Q. What is their deportment there?—A. They are very gen-  
“ tlemanly in all their intercourse with white people; none more  
“ so. They are treated with the same respect and attention as  
“ any other merchant visiting the exchange, and they are, by  
“ many, courted very extensively. So far as their credit is con-  
“ cerned, it is unsurpassed by any mercantile houses in the city.  
“ Their credit is A 1.

“ Q. How does their employment affect white labor?—A. In  
“ regard to household servants I will give you my experience in  
“ a few words: When I left New York, in the spring of 1850, I  
“ had employed a nurse girl who had lived with me ten years,  
“ and I paid her \$6 a month. After being out here two months  
“ or so, I sent for my family, and this nurse girl came out here.  
“ I paid her passage you might say twice over to get her here.  
“ She was not exactly shipwrecked, but I had to pay her passage  
“ twice over, and I agreed to pay her \$50 a month after she ar-

“ rived here. I continued to pay her \$50 a month for several  
“ years. To-day a servant girl in that capacity receives from  
“ \$20 to \$25 a month wages. At that time, in 1850, I paid a  
“ cook in New York \$10 a month. Like service here would cost  
“ \$30 a month now. That is the regular wages of white cook  
“ girls; chambermaids, or what they call second girls here, gen-  
“ erally get about \$25 a month.

“ Q. For how many years past have those rates continued?—  
“ A. For some years past; six or eight years. I will say that  
“ since the agitation of this Chinese question here, within the  
“ last six months, it has been a very difficult matter for any one  
“ to hire white help, more so than it ever was before. What the  
“ actual cause or reason of it is, I do not know; but my own im-  
“ pression is that if it were not for the Chinese boys, as they are  
“ called, the Chinese servants that we have in our houses, in-  
“ stead of paying an Irishwoman, a good cook, etc., \$25, and  
“ \$30, we would have to pay what we did when I first came  
“ here, from \$40 to \$50 a month. I speak now of my own  
“ knowledge. A good Chinese servant will do twice the work  
“ of any white servant woman you can have here. He will do  
“ housework better in every way, and do a great deal more. So  
“ far as my observation goes, Chinese servants here are not high  
“ servants. They do not work by the hour, eight hours a day,  
“ but they work at all times, and are willing. That is my expe-  
“ rience. I have a Chinaman in mind now who was employed  
“ two years in my daughter’s family, until very recently, and he  
“ did the work of two servants. I consider that he is worth his  
“ weight in gold as a servant.”

Page 643, Congressional Report.

“ ARTHUR B. STOUT sworn and examined.

“ By MR. BROOKS: Question. What is your business?—  
“ A. I am a physician.

“ Q. How long have you resided in this State?—A. Since  
“ February, 1849.

“ Q. Have you practiced your profession from that time?—  
“ A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Have you held any office under the State connected with that profession?—A. Yes, sir; I am now a member of the State Board of Health. I have had no other official appointment, although I have been in the public hospitals as physician.

“ Q. Where have you resided?—A. In San Francisco, constantly.

“ Q. How near was your office and residence to what is known as the Chinese quarter?—A. Right in the midst of it.

“ Q. You built there before the Chinese came to that quarter?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. During your residence there have you known of any disease, any pestilence originating and spreading in there, or spreading from there?—A. No, sir; none.

“ Q. The Chinese live in that quarter very closely, do they not?—A. Quite closely, sometimes.

“ Q. How is it that you account for the fact that under these circumstances they are apparently so healthy?—A. Their frugal life gives them more immunity from disease. They eat only what is necessary to live upon. They eat to live and do not live to eat. They are clean in their habits, and they drink no whisky. I have never seen a drunken Chinaman in my life. They consequently obtain a better resisting power to the attack of disease.

“ Q. What is their habit in regard to ablutions?—A. They constantly wash themselves.

“ Q. The whole person, or only the face and hands?—A. My observation of the men is that they kept themselves clean. Their clothes are clean. As mechanics or workmen they keep themselves very clean.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. What is the comparative mortality among the Chinese and the whites of this city—the death-rate?—A. The death-rate is greater among the whites than among the Chinese.

“ Q. What is the comparative mortality among adult Chinamen and adult white people?—A. The amount is greater with adult white people.

“ Q. Have they had epidemics in the Chinese quarter?—A.  
 “ No, sir; the small-pox has been among them, as it has been  
 “ among others, but I think there has been less small-pox  
 “ among them—I mean the ratio of population allowed—than  
 “ with the whites. When you come to take up the question of  
 “ small-pox, I think I can exonerate the Chinese from the  
 “ charges alleged against them of having introduced it.

“ Q. What has been your experience in reference to the  
 “ Chinese leprosy?—A. I think that the hue and cry made is  
 “ simply a farce. Leprosy is a disease of very ancient origin.  
 “ It had its existence under certain peculiar circumstances of  
 “ Eastern and East European nations. It has come from  
 “ Europe when it has come here, and that is exceedingly rare, if  
 “ at all. It is a disease that is rather passing away. It is a  
 “ disease of a past epoch, which can never return again, owing  
 “ to the different changes of civilization and of life that have oc-  
 “ curred. Leprosy will probably never exist again. It exists  
 “ in the Sandwich Islands, where it does not extend, partly be-  
 “ cause it is quarantined.

“ Q. You speak of prostitution here, and you think there is  
 “ an insufficient number of Chinese women engaged in prostitu-  
 “ tion, not more than is required for the general health of the  
 “ Chinese?—A. No, sir. I think that if you look at it in a  
 “ hygienic view, and according to principles of political  
 “ economy, and not as a question of morality, they have not  
 “ their adequate supply.”

Page 766, Congressional Report:

SAN FRANCISCO, November 16, 1876.

“ WILLIAM W. HOLLISTER sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. What is your occupation?—An-  
 “ swer. I am a farmer.

“ Q. How long have you been a resident of California?—A.  
 “ Since 1852—twenty-four years.

“ Q. In what portion of the State are your farming opera-  
 “ tions?—A. At present, chiefly in the county of Santa Bar-  
 “ bara. \* \* \*

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. Is there or not a strong opposition  
“ to the Chinese among the agricultural people of the State?—  
“ A. As to the proprietors, I think there is a common senti-  
“ ment and feeling in favor of the Chinamen. They are our  
“ last resort. They are the only thing that the farmer can rely  
“ upon at all. The feeling is common with all the farmers, except  
“ possibly a very few, who are utterly unable to hire anybody at  
“ all. There are some men, you might say, who do not want  
“ Chinamen, but I do not know them. The feeling is common  
“ among the proprietors of Santa Barbara, I know, of very great  
“ great favor to the Chinamen. In fact, they are doing all the  
“ work of that country. There are about four hundred of them  
“ there, almost all out in the country, variously employed, some  
“ of them chopping wood, some of them in-doors, some of them  
“ serving families. Generally, they find such work as they are  
“ best fitted for with the farmers of the country there. They  
“ are very handy with the bean crop of the country and with  
“ the barley. They do the greater part of the work. They  
“ adapt themselves to all work, because the others will not do it  
“ at the price at which they work.

“ Q. Is there opposition to the Chinamen among the people of  
“ Santa Barbara, a town of about six thousand people?—A. The  
“ bummer always goes against the Chinaman, and he is there as  
“ well as everywhere else. I never heard anybody else com-  
“ plain of them. The bummer is a man who does not work and  
“ does not want anybody else to work. If the Chinaman got  
“ \$5 a day, I suppose the bummer would go for his place and  
“ get it. That is about the reason, I suppose, why they oppose  
“ the Chinamen, because nobody can afford to give such wages.  
“ The man who demands big wages is simply running against  
“ himself; he breaks down all employment and nobody can  
“ hire him.”

Appendix, page 1202, Colonel Hollister says:

“ I have employed Chinamen almost from the beginning of  
“ my life in this State. I have from five to fifteen or twenty as  
“ steady laborers, and for special employments, temporarily,  
“ many more at a time. I have studied the man as a man more

“ closely, if possible, than I have any other race, and now give  
“ you my opinion of him as a worker and man. As a laborer,  
“ he is most submissive and kindly, ready to do what you want  
“ done, with entire good-will. He descends to the lowest em-  
“ ployments, and, when properly treated, thinks of no degra-  
“ dation in the lowest of labors. In short, he is willing to be the  
“ mudsill, and take the very bottom round of the social ladder.  
“ As a man I have found him honest, and, as a rule, very intel-  
“ ligent. Who ever saw a drunken Chinaman? They are un-  
“ skilled in most of our labors, but when educated in them I  
“ have found them most useful and efficient. When skilled in  
“ your work, their accuracy and promptness are remarkable.  
“ For us of California, they fill the very places which other la-  
“ borers will not willingly fill. They perform the menial labors  
“ of our household, and in general do so much of our common-  
“ est toil that they pave the way for the higher labors of the  
“ better races. So necessary are they to us in filling the places  
“ they are filling now, that without them we would, if not act-  
“ ually come to a standstill, suffer extreme embarrassment in all  
“ departments. With the labor of these Chinese, numbering  
“ from fifteen to thirty in different branches of my business, I  
“ am able to give work to twenty to fifty laborers of other nation-  
“ alities. Without their aid, who have thus opened the door to  
“ the advent of the higher labor, I would have found it so em-  
“ barrassing to do anything that I would have been forced to  
“ forego many undertakings. In all fairness, considering the  
“ place filled by the Chinese in California, how are they to be  
“ considered as damaging and degrading to white labor? They  
“ do not often fill the positions sought after by others.

“ Q. What is the name of your town?—A. Santa Barbara.

“ By Mr. BROOKS: Q. It is the county seat?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. What is the moral condition of this Chinese population?  
“ —A. So good that I think out of the whole 400 Chinese popu-  
“ lation there have been but five arrests in the course of a year.  
“ Two of them were dismissed; two cases were for petty lar-  
“ ceny, stealing vegetables, or something like that, from their  
“ own people. I never saw a better population in my life.

“ Q. How does this immigration compare morally with other immigration of the same class of people?—A. So much better that if the teachings of paganism make honest men, as I find the Chinamen to be, I think seriously of becoming a pagan myself. I believe in honesty; I believe in honest men.

“ Q. What is their physical condition as to health, etc.?—A. Those who are skilled in labor, and understand our work, having had some experience, are the best workmen I ever saw. I do not think, as an average, the Chinaman is quite up to the average of the white population in physical strength, though I see exceptions where they are very strong and very good. They are not very strong men, but they are very earnest, good men. They work up to their power as I never saw any other people work in my life.

“ Q. What is the condition of their health?—A. First rate. I rarely see an invalid Chinaman.

“ Q. Have you noticed among them any predisposition to skin diseases or eruptions, or anything of that kind?—A. Not a bit.

“ Q. What are their habits in regard to personal cleanliness?—A. Better than that of the whites. My men are the cleanest men I ever had about me in my life. They wash every day of their lives. They shame our own population in that respect.

“ Q.—In your intercourse with them, have you formed any opinion as to whether these Chinamen who are here are free or not?—A. If there was ever a slave among them I never knew it. I treat with my men severally and individually. I have no go-betweens. I say to a Chinaman, generally one who has been a father among them and understands the language well, ‘I want two more Chinamen; get good men, the best men; go bring them on and I will give them so much.’

“ Q. You employ him merely as a Chinaman to get the men?—A. I take simply any one of them who understands the language and can talk well. I never supposed or believed that there was a particle of peonage or slavery among the Chinamen of California; and I do not believe there is to-day.

“ Q. Have you seen any evidence of any control exercised by any one Chinaman over another?—A. Not a particle.”

Page 599, Congressional Report:

“ DAVID D. COLTON sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. You are connected with the Southern Pacific Railroad, I believe?—Answer. Yes, I am.

“ Q. Are you the Vice-President or President of the Company?—A. At this time I am the Vice-President.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Question. I understand it. My question is, what is the origin or the cause of the opposition to Chinamen, the hostility that evidently prevails among a great many of your people?—Answer. I have asked myself that question a good many times when I have been down at the steamer; and when these inoffensive people, in the legitimate pursuit of their business, were going up from the steamer to their lodging-houses, I have seen twenty or thirty of what are termed hoodlums here throwing rocks at them. I have seen quiet, peaceful Chinamen going through the street, when grown men would hit them in the face, knock off their hats, and do all those things which, if done to an American in China, the whole American nation would be in favor of a war; they would be in favor of wiping China from the face of the earth.

“ Q. If Americans in China were treated in the same way?—

“ A. Yes, sir. It is a painful statement for an American to make, under our form of government, but I think there is nobody in this room, who has lived here in the city, who will differ with me on that subject.

“ Q. How do the Chinese compare, in point of intellectual ability, capacity to understand, with Americans; do you notice any difference?—A. I look upon the American race as a very superior race. I would also rather undertake to get along with an American, probably, than with a Chinaman; but the Chinese are very apt, they learn quickly, they comprehend a thing, and they never drink. I never saw a drunken Chinaman in my life. They are always at themselves; they do not

“ have any sprees. I have heard of this smoking of opium, but, “ out of three or four thousand on the road, there are no opium “ smokers. There is no trouble with them; they are always on “ hand in the morning; they do a full day’s work; and they are “ certainly *the most cleanly laborers that we have.*”

Page 666, Congressional Report:

“ CHARLES CROCKER sworn and examined.

“ By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you been in this State?—A. I have been here twenty-six years.

“ Q. What has been your business?—A. For the last fifteen or sixteen years I have been building railroads.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Question. How long have you lived on this coast?—Answer. Twenty-six years.

“ Q. You have been acquainted with the operations of the Chinese since their first arrival here?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. State what, in your judgment, is their effect upon white labor, whether they have the effect to deprive white men of employment, or have had that effect at any time.—A. I think that they afford white men labor. I think that their presence here affords to white men a more elevated class of labor. As I said before, if you should drive these 75,000 Chinamen off, you would take 75,000 white men from an elevated class of work and put them down to doing this low class of labor that the Chinamen are now doing, and, instead of elevating, you would degrade white labor to that extent. For any man to ride through California, from one end of this State to the other, and see the miles upon miles of uncultivated land, and in the mountains millions of acres of timber, and the foot-hills waiting for some one to go and cultivate them, and then talk about there being too much labor here in the country, is simply nonsense, in my estimation. There is labor for all, and the fact that the Chinamen are here gives an opportunity to white men to go in and cultivate this land, when they could not cultivate it otherwise.

“ Q. You think, then, that there is no conflict between the interest of the white and the Chinese laborer?—A. No, sir;

“ I think if the white laborer understood and realized his true  
“ interest, he would be in favor of the present proportion of  
“ Chinese labor in this State.

“ By Mr. PIPER: Question. Where were you born?—Answer.  
“ In Troy, New York, on the Hudson river.

“ Q. Were you born rich?—A. No, sir; very poor.

“ Q. You worked for a living, did you not?—A. I am a  
“ working man, and always have been. I started from home  
“ when I was 16½ years old, owing 62½ cents, without a copper  
“ in my pocket and not a change of clothes, and I have never  
“ received any assistance from any living man since unless I  
“ paid him for it and interest upon it.

“ Q. You were a contractor for the construction of the Cen-  
“ tral Pacific Railroad?—A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. You say that you employed ten thousand Chinamen?  
“ A. About that number; I never knew exactly how many.

“ By the CHAIRMAN: Q. What is the character of the Chinese  
“ whom you have employed, for temperance?—A. They are all  
“ temperate.

“ Q. Have they peaceful habits?—A. I have never seen a  
“ drunken Chinaman on the work, and I do not know that I  
“ have ever met a drunken Chinaman on the streets. I have no  
“ recollection of ever having seen a drunken Chinaman. I have  
“ seen them under the effect of opium. \* \* \*

“ Q. Do you think there are too many Chinamen here now?  
“ A. No, sir; I think the number is just about right. I believe  
“ that not long ago there were a few too many of them, but they  
“ went away, seeking other places for profitable employment.  
“ I believe the law of supply and demand will regulate itself if  
“ they are left alone. I recognize a Chinaman as more than an  
“ ordinarily intelligent man, and they will not come here unless  
“ they can get profitable employment. When there are too  
“ many here they will go somewhere else; they have done that  
“ repeatedly. There have been times when there was a less  
“ number in the State than now, and there have been times in  
“ 1864 or 1865 when, I think, there were more Chinamen here  
“ than now. Whenever there is a scarcity of labor for these

" Chinamen, you see them taking the steamers for home; and  
" when there is a demand for their labor, they come.

" Q. You think this law of supply and demand would regulate  
" their coming without any legislation by Congress?—A. I do.  
" I believe the best thing to do is to let the subject alone and  
" leave it to regulate itself, and it will regulate itself. There  
" may be a time, for a month, or a year, or eighteen months,  
" when there are too many Chinamen here, but they find they  
" cannot get labor and go away.

Page 649, Congressional Report:

" DR. STOUT, member of State Board of Health.

" By the CHAIRMAN: Q. How does the squalor and filth of  
" the Chinese quarter compare with other parts of the city, or  
" in other words, is the filth and squalor of the Chinese quarter  
" greater than that of some other parts of the city?—A. The  
" squalor of the Chinese quarter is not much greater than that  
" which exists in other parts of this city from other people. Of  
" course their quarter is disagreeable, because it is perhaps more  
" densely populated, but there is less care taken of it. If ample  
" care were taken by the city authorities toward the drainage  
" and the cleaning, I do not think they would be much inferior  
" to the squalor, for instance, such as I saw nearly at the sum-  
" mit of Telegraph Hill a day or two ago. I was called to see a  
" sick child up there, and the filth and stench from want of  
" cleanliness was terrible. I can take you down to the lower  
" part of the city, below Montgomery street, and show you  
" much more squalor in the form of neglect, want of drainage,  
" and want of proper care, than you would find in the Chinese  
" quarter. There has been a great exaggeration in all those  
" charges against the Chinese.

" Q. What is the care bestowed upon the Chinese quarter  
" by the city authorities? Is that treated as carefully and as  
" fully as other parts of the city? A. I have been under the  
" impression for a long time that it was, but I have since been  
" informed that most of the garbage carts, and the sweeping of  
" the streets is done at the expense of the Chinese, and not at the

" expense of the city; that they are left to take care of themselves."

While hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended to clean the streets of this city, not one dollar has been expended by the Board of Supervisors to clean the streets in the Chinese quarters for ten years past. Yet the whole district is swept every morning by Italians, the garbage carted away, at an expense to the Chinese residents of over \$5,000 a year. The streets are kept as clean as any other business portion of the city, the Supervisors' book to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Congressional Committee was in session investigating the Chinese question for seven weeks. Senator Morton as Chairman in his report, before quoted, says:

#### SENATOR MORTON'S REPORT.

" The most of the Chinese were laboring men, who came from the rural districts in China and were accustomed to agricultural pursuits. A few of them were scholars in their own country. Some of them were merchants, and a very few mechanics. As a rule, they are industrious, temperate and honest in their dealings. Some thousands of them are employed as household servants in the cities and in the country, in this capacity the testimony generally concurs in giving them a high character. They very readily learn to perform all kinds of household duty, are devoted to their employment, and soon become exceedingly skillful. The testimony proved that they went to all parts of the State to serve in that capacity, when other servants or help of that kind could not be obtained from the cities, and that if they were banished it would be very hard,—in fact, as many of the witnesses said, impossible,—to supply their places.

" As laborers upon the farms and in the gardens and vineyards, nearly all of the witnesses speak of them in the highest terms. Colonel Hollister, one of the largest farmers in California, and a man of great intelligence, testified that without the Chinese the wheat and other crops in California could not be harvested and taken to market, that white labor could not be obtained for prices that would enable the farmer to carry

“ on his business, that any considerable increase in the price of labor would render the production of wheat and almost every other agricultural product unprofitable, and they would have to be abandoned.

“ In the construction of railroads and other public works of California, the Chinese have been of the greatest service, and have performed the largest part of the labor. Several distinguished gentlemen connected with railroads testified that without Chinese labor they could not have been constructed, and that if the companies had been compelled to rely upon white labor, it would have been so difficult to procure and so costly that the works must have been abandoned, and, in fact, would not have been undertaken. As laborers upon the public works they were entirely reliable, worked more hours than white men, were not given to strikes, and never undertook, by combinations, to control the price of labor.

“ The chief point against the Chinese, and that which was put forth as the ground of movements against them, was that they worked for less wages than white people, and thus took their labor, or compelled them to work for wages upon which they could not subsist their families and educate their children. That Chinamen work for lower wages and perform the same amount of labor for less money than white people is unquestionably true. They have largely performed the hardest and lowest kind of labor in the state, such as the construction of railroads, reclaiming the tule lands, and every form of drudgery and unskilled labor, but that they have injuriously interfered with the white people of California, or have done them a serious injury may well be doubted. The great fact is, that there is to-day, and always has been, a scarcity of labor on the Pacific Coast, there is work for all who are there, both white and Mongolian, and the State would undoubtedly develop much more rapidly were there more and cheaper labor. There was much intelligent testimony to the fact that the Chinese, by their labor, opened up large avenues and demand for white labor. The Chinese perform the lowest kind, while the whites monopolized that of a superior

“ character. This was well stated by Mr. Crocker, a very intelligent witness, largely interested in the Central Pacific and Southern California railroads, in answer to a question as to what was the effect of Chinese upon white labor, and whether it was to deprive white men of employment, or had had that effect at any time. He said:

“ ‘ I think that they afford white men labor, I think that their presence here affords to white men a more elevated class of labor. As I said before, if you should drive these 75,000 Chinamen off you would take 75,000 white men from an elevated class of work and put them down to doing this low class of labor that the Chinamen are now doing, and instead of elevating, you would degrade the white labor to that extent. For any man to ride through California, from one end of this State to the other, and see the miles upon miles of uncultivated land, and in the mountains millions of acres of timber, and the foot hills waiting for some one to go and cultivate them, and then talk about there being too much labor here in this country, is simply nonsense. In my estimation, there is labor for all. And the fact that the Chinamen are here gives an opportunity to white men to go in and cultivate this land where they could not cultivate it otherwise.’ ” \* \* \*

“ It is said that the presence of the Chinese in California prevents the emigration thither of white people, and, therefore, stands in the way of the growth of the State. If such is the fact (which I do not admit), it springs from the *persecution visited upon the Chinamen, and the exaggerated declarations which have been made in excuse for them.*

“ That the Chinese interfere with white labor and leave white people out of work, or reduce their wages by competition below the living point. If white people are deterred from going to California, it is not a legitimate result of the presence of the Chinese, but by the gross misrepresentations which have been made. Looking at the question broadly, and at the effect which Chinese labor has exerted in California, running through a period of twenty-five years, I am strongly of the opinion that, but for the presence of the Chinese, California

“ would not now have more than one-half or two-thirds of her present white population; that Chinese labor has opened up many avenues and new industries for white labor, made many kinds of business possible, and laid the foundations of manufacturing interests that bid fair to rise to enormous proportions; that the presence of the Chinese, holding out the prospect for labor at reasonable rates, induced the transfer of large amounts of capital and immigration to California, and of large numbers of business and enterprising men, thus making California the most inviting field for immigrants from every class of society, including laboring men; and, lastly, that the laboring men of California have ample employment, and are better paid than in almost any other part of the country. \* \* \* While there was complaint that the Chinese, by their cheap labor, took it from white people, inquiry failed to show that there was any considerable number of white people in California out of employment, except those who were willfully idle.”

Such were the conclusions reached by one of the most distinguished statesmen of the country. What was true then, is true now, concerning these persecuted people.

#### DECREASED NUMBER OF CHINESE.

There are 25,000 less Chinese in this country than there were at the time of that investigation (October and November, 1876). Since that date the Pacific Coast has prospered to an astonishing degree. Its wealth and population has nearly doubled. The vine and fruit interests, by the aid of Chinese labor, has quadrupled. Its industrial and manufacturing and commercial interests are steadily advancing. Yet, it is asserted, that this Empire of the Pacific, with its almost boundless resources, capable of supporting a population of 10,000,000 of people, is being ruined by the presence of 65,000 Chinese. This cry of ruin commenced fifteen years ago. Yet prosperity, wealth and happiness has blessed our people, beyond all others, during these years.

A State Convention is called, to meet in the near future, to demand of Congress the abrogation of the Burlingame treaty, and it is to be left with the law-makers of this great nation to

decide, whether you are longer to foster the existing relations between the two governments, or succumb to the demands of a faction, composed largely of an agrarian element of foreign birth, who make the Chinese question a pretext for mob violence, endorsed and led by political demagogues, and backed by the incendiary appeals of an irresponsible press. It may well be asked, where is our boasted freedom of speech, when an agrarian mob dictates what kind of labor you must employ? Where is our boasted freedom of the press, when it dare not discuss both sides of a question or speak a word in favor of a persecuted stranger? Where is our liberty and safety, when a mob of aliens can, undisturbed, hold their gatherings, and boldly threaten to assassinate our best citizens? And where does this lawless element look for encouragement, but to that class who occupy a higher political plane, designated as "leading citizens," who follow politics as a profession.

This latter class have been leading an agitation to expel the Chinese from Sacramento. An ordinance had been offered to effect that object. It came before the City Trustees a few days since, and was defeated. The following press dispatch, as well as the remarks of the Mayor, shows who are the higher plane agitators, as well as their motives:

" SACRAMENTO, January 19th.—The ordinance aiming at the expulsion of the Chinese from within the city limits came up for passage to-day in the Board of Trustees and was lost. Several speeches were made in favor, and the opinion of A. P. Catlin, City Attorney, holding it to be unconstitutional, was read. The debate between Mayor Brown and the advocates of the ordinance was animated. The Mayor held that the existing laws were sufficient to test the constitutionality and held that such a measure, while on its face it could do no good, offered no relief, and would nullify the efforts of the Pacific Coast delegation in Congress, retard and set back efforts in the direction of ameliorating the condition of white laborers, and set the cause back many years. He held that officials should listen to words of wisdom and obey the dictates of *their own consciences, and not follow the ardice of agitators and slick-tongued*

*"lawyers, whose motives were personal and in a line for political "preferment."*

When Senator Morton declared that the enquiry failed to show that there was "any considerable number of white people out of employment in California, except those willfully idle," he stated the truth.

Recent events, that are transpiring here, prove that it is as true to-day as it was then. As illustrations of how the Chinese compel "the white laborer to walk the streets of this city in idleness," I cite the following circumstances:

The sufferings of white cigarmakers was most pathetically proclaimed by the press of this city for months; it was said that this class were driven to poverty and want by the Chinese cigarmakers. It was, indeed, enough to enlist the good offices, if true, of every philanthropist. The white firms engaged in that business finally agreed to give work to these suffering people and discharge their Chinese. It was at once discovered that there were no idle cigarmakers here, and the result was two agents were sent East, who returned a few weeks since with two hundred; more are to follow. It is charged also that our boys and girls are growing up in idleness, and deprived of learning any trade by Chinese competition. Last week there arrived here overland thirty girls to take the place of Chinese employed in a jute factory. The press this week informs us that the noted millionaire viticulturist of Los Angeles County, E. J. Baldwin, Esq., having succumbed to the Chinese agitators, had sent an agent to the southern States to obtain seventy-five negroes to take the place of Chinese on his ranch. The citizens of the beautiful City of the Sea, Santa Barbara, in order to test the matter that there was much suffering for want of employment by poor families, built a steam laundry, withdrew their patronage from the Chinese, run the new enterprise for seven days, then closed the concern, posting a notice, "Closed for want of operatives." The foregoing incidents could be quoted at great length, but this much is given as specimen events, transpiring within the last sixty days.

It has become a necessity to these Chinese agitators to prevent the people of the East from knowing how Chinese are outraged

and persecuted. It is claimed that they are not educated up to a degree that they can grasp the situation, and "do not, as a rule, understand the question." Hence this persecution that is daily heralded by the press, wherein the Chinese are driven from "pillar to post" must cease, until Congress can act. In other words, stop this persecution long enough to take another turn at the screws. In proof thereof I herewith

LET REPRESENTATIVE MORROW STATE THE CASE

as he finds it at the National Capital :

" HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

" WASHINGTON, D. C., December 26, 1885.

" Hon. W. B. Farwell—MY DEAR SIR : The hundred copies of " your book entitled, 'The Chinese at Home and Abroad,' em- " bracing the report of the special committee of the Board of " Supervisors on the condition of the Chinese question of San " Francisco, came to hand day before yesterday. To-day I " called upon the President and had a talk with him upon the " Chinese question. The occasion was opportune, since Sena- " tors, Representatives and office-seekers here having generally " left town for the holidays, the President was at leisure. We " talked freely and fully upon the subject, discussed the situa- " tion in California, and I explained to him, somewhat in detail, " the proposed legislation amending the Restriction Act. He " appeared to be much interested and expressed a desire to un- " derstand the question. In the course of our conversation I " produced a copy of your book which I gave him with the as- " surance that it was a truthful statement of the case. He " thanked me and said it was a book he really wanted and he " would read it through carefully. He expressed himself very " strongly concerning the threatened violence in California di- " rected toward the Chinese. The President is very clear that " the laws must be maintained, and he indicated very posi- " tively that the Chinese, while they are here, should be " protected. I desire to say, in this connection, that the " talk about driving the Chinese out of the country by " force is simply retarding the adoption of legal methods,

" having in view the settlement of this question. The people  
" here in the East do not, as a rule, understand the question,  
" and, assuming that the question is one of race prejudice only,  
" a large number of people are beginning to have sympathy for  
" the Chinese. I heard a leading member of Congress say the  
" other day that he had voted for all the Chinese bills before  
" Congress, but he was inclined to think he should vote for them  
" no more. He thought the time had come when the common  
" sense of the country should assert itself and call a halt to  
" this violent and incendiary spirit emanating from the Sand  
" lot. Of course, our reply to all such statements is that the  
" real sentiment of the Pacific Coast now engaged in an effort  
" to settle this question is not incendiary or violent, but it is  
" hard to convince a casual observer that this is so when the  
" papers show that the only thing of interest transpiring on the  
" Pacific Coast to-day relates to proposed extreme measures  
" against the Chinese. Now, we, who are anxious to do some-  
" thing for the State, and in the most effective manner possible,  
" do sincerely hope that the people will look at this matter in a  
" calm, common-sense way, and not indulge in violent threats  
" or countenance those who do. If our proposed amendments  
" to the Restriction Act will prevent Chinese immigration, as we  
" believe they will, then we hope the people will support our  
" measures and help us get them enacted into law. But let us  
" impress upon you this one fact: It is going to be a hard mat-  
" ter to amend the law at all unless we are able to give some  
" assurance that people engaged in this agitation will be content  
" with legal methods in the settlement of this question. If  
" we can handle it on broad grounds, we may be successful,  
" but we cannot hope for much consideration on the basis of  
" prejudice and passion. We believe that the question of  
" protecting American labor is the most important one before  
" the country to-day, and on that principle alone we cannot  
" help but be successful. From the White House I went to  
" State Department, and called on Mr. Bayard, and had  
" about the same experience with him I had with the Presi-  
" dent. I was with him quite a while. We talked over some

“ of the features of proposed legislation, and I found him  
“ disposed to give our views careful consideration. He re-  
“ ferred to the fact that he was confronted with a phase of the  
“ Chinese question in the claims that had been presented by the  
“ Chinese Government for loss of life and property in Wyoming  
“ and Washington Territories. I then called upon Secretary  
“ Manning, and, fortunately, found him at leisure. I went over  
“ the same grounds with him as with the President and Mr.  
“ Bayard. In a previous interview with Assistant Secretary  
“ Fairchild, I learned that one of the principal difficulties with  
“ the Department is a want of funds to pay the necessary ex-  
“ penses of enforcing the law. I explained to the Secretary  
“ that, upon that suggestion being made, I had drafted a bill  
“ providing for an appropriation of \$10,000 for the expenses  
“ necessary to be incurred in enforcing the law, to be imme-  
“ diately available, and to be expended under the direction  
“ of the Secretary of the Treasury; that I introduced this bill  
“ last Monday, and we would urge its early consideration by the  
“ House. The Secretary expressed himself as pleased with this  
“ move, and promised an active effort to enforce the law. We  
“ hope to get our bills before the House at an early day, but  
“ even under the new rules this will be no easy matter. Other  
“ legislation of pressing importance to the people of the East  
“ will be brought forward in the House for determination, and  
“ we may be put back considerably, but we shall keep at work.  
“ The delegation is united and harmonious, and we will do all  
“ that possibly can be done. Thanking you for your kindness  
“ and generosity in sending me so many of your books, I re-  
“ main, with the best wishes of the season, yours very truly,

“W. W. MORROW.”

This communication brought forth an ordinance which in effect abolished the 'Sand lot' meetings, but was promptly killed by the Board of Supervisors—they don't want their capital stock abolished). In concluding this branch of the Chinese question, I quote from a communication received a few days since from a distinguished lawyer now resident in Colorado—a man who has been repeatedly honored, time and

and again, by this Government, a pioneer of the Great West, and a prominent Republican—who pays this deserved compliment to the President:

“ But whatever may have been in the past or may be in the future legislation of congress, one thing is certain: that the Chinese and all our true American people ought to thank God for it, that at last we have a president who has the pluck, the disposition, and the purpose to protect these industrious, quiet people from the crimes, abuses, and robberies of scurvy politicians in Seattle, New Tacoma, and all over our union; and, while he will enforce to the letter all the laws of the nation, will see to it that whatever may be done against them shall be done strictly according to law. His official action in Wyoming, when the army was ordered to the rescue, his orders to the United States district attorneys to prosecute with vigor all persons, irrespective of station, color, party, or position, who have aided, abetted, and assisted at murders and arsons and robberies there, give an assurance that at last we have the right man in the right place, and his late message on this subject and the Mormon Rebellion in Utah, demonstrated that, while congress may make such laws as they please, he will execute them to the very letter, and that he will see to it, in the language of Bishop Hooker, ‘ that the humblest Chinaman is not beneath the protecting care of those laws, and that the most powerful and richest Mormon, or Gentle, is not beyond the reach of their punishment.’ Let us all wish our President a happy, happy New Year.”

#### THE RESTRICTION ACT AND ITS EFFECT.

Congress passed the first Restriction Act authorized by the Angell Treaty May 6th, 1882, to take effect ninety days thereafter. The Amendatory Act was passed July 5th, 1884. The original Act, as well as that Amendatory, are both declared by that class so fully described in the foregoing pages, as inoperative and a failure. The press, demagogues, Sand-lot orators, slippery tongued politicians, all join in the cry “ The Restriction Act is a failure.” Every one connected with the enforcement

of the law are denounced as rascals. Judges of the United States Courts were, and still are, villified in unmeasured terms. The result of all this denunciation is the bill now before Congress, the author of which begs the people to stop this denunciation, as well as the abuse of the Chinese, until the bill is passed. Yet, the bill is entitled "An Act to enforce certain treaty stipulations with China."

To investigate the frauds so freely charged against reputable citizens, a special United States Grand Jury was convened. To enlighten the reader as to the working of the Act, I herewith quote from the

MINORITY REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY:

"To the Hon. Judge Hoffman, Judge of the United States District Court: From so much of the report of the United States Grand Jury, as refers to the execution of the Chinese Restriction Act, we beg respectfully to dissent and offer the following in place thereof:

"At the outset we were very deeply impressed with the earnestness of your Honor's charge to us, with reference to the Chinese Restriction Act, and its alleged evasions and frauds, and were much influenced by your Honor's strongly-expressed desire that we should gather any particle of evidence within our reach bearing upon the subject of Chinese frauds, and to bring to light the wrong-doing and to indictment the wrong-doers. Deeply prepossessed with the belief, in common with the great portion of the people, that enormous frauds had existed, we determined that no effort of ours should be wanting to their exposure, and we entered upon an investigation to the exclusion of every other kind of business which would naturally come before us. The Grand Jury have given the broadest scope to their inquiries and have propounded the most searching queries, and have striven by every appeal and question and persuasion which they could devise to elicit the truth, and if the result has not been what we had ourselves expected, the fault has not been that of the Grand Jury, but possibly, of those persons, who, if they possessed information,

" would not give it, and is the direct and logical outcome of the  
" evidence which the Grand Jury were able to obtain. To at-  
" tempt a detailed analysis of this evidence would be a waste of  
" time. We examined ninety witnesses and every person, with-  
" out exception, who was suggested to us as being probably  
" able to give desired information. There appeared before us,  
" proprietors, editors and staff members of reputable journals,  
" whom we had been led to think could help us to the informa-  
" tion we were seeking. Attorneys, with large Chinese clien-  
" tage and much knowledge of Chinese character, willingly  
" responded to our summons. Gentlemen, who, from their  
" experience of the language and their confidential relations to  
" the Chinese, it was hoped, could give us knowledge, came  
" before us. The higher class of Chinese merchants, and, indeed,  
" those whom it was claimed were directly engaged in the sale  
" of red certificates, were summoned, but were as dumb as oys-  
" ters, or indignant, when pointed questions were put to them.  
" Officials of the Government obeyed every wish of ours with  
" alacrity. City and county officials gave us all the aid in their  
" power. The city was ransacked for testimony which would  
" enable us to strike at the root of these Chinese frauds. We  
" gave all a respectful and patient hearing. The first question  
" invariably asked of a witness was, in effect, 'What do you  
" know of a fraudulent nature in respect to the Restriction Act?'  
" And the answer as invariably came, 'I know nothing of my  
" own knowledge.' We asked for hearsay testimony, for opin-  
" ions, for the names of men whom it was thought could and  
" would enlighten us. We rejected nothing. We were after  
" the truth. We obtained through it all a mass of hearsay, of  
" suspicions, of beliefs, but no evidence whatever. Nothing  
" to convince or convict. Let us say, that of the only two  
" exceptions to the rule in the directness and force of their  
" testimony, one stood impeached in character by the highest  
" testimony, and the other, profuse in his evidence, was shown  
" to be a highbinder and to have been convicted of crimes.  
" Thus much we have to say to your Honor of the general  
" character and results of our ~~inquiry~~.

*Inquiry*

" problems which we have aimed to solve are these: Has the  
" Restriction Act been fraudulently violated, and, if so, to what  
" extent? And has the Act in a larger sense served its pur-  
" pose, and is it doing so now? These problems we attempt to  
" answer. \* \* \*

Then follows a long analysis of the Act and the methods of its enforcement. Reference is then made to the charge of fraud, thus:

" It is in the issue and use and manipulation of these red  
" certificates that extensive frauds have been popularly supposed  
" to have been committed. There is no doubt in our mind,  
" though there is an absence of positive proof thereof, that red  
" certificates have been procured by dummies and by Chinese  
" returning to Hongkong with no intention of again coming to  
" this country, and that they have been sold and used to admit  
" Chinese into the United States; but, in view of the evidence  
" brought before us, we cannot believe that this substitution of  
" individuals has been made in any very extensive way, and cer-  
" tainly the number of Chinese entitled to be in this country has  
" not been materially increased in this manner. It has been  
" very freely said and believed that red certificates have been for  
" sale in large quantities in Chinatown, and the Chinese them-  
" selves have been industriously engaged in giving circulation  
" to this belief. It is in evidence that nearly every person  
" whom the Chinese imagined could procure the coveted red  
" certificates has been approached with offers to purchase, and  
" it is to the Chinese themselves and their peculiar efforts to  
" obtain them that we attribute much of the prevailing belief  
" that Chinatown was full of red and fraudulent certificates.  
" Rewards have been offered to persons who would procure one  
" of these certificates from Chinatown fraudulently there, and  
" every form of detective effort has been made use of to bring  
" the iniquity of red certificate dealing, if any existed, to the  
" light of day. But every effort in this direction has been  
" futile and utterly without expected result and we are con-  
" strained to believe that if the evil existed at all it has pre-  
" vailed to an inconsiderable extent only." \* \* \*

“ We wish to impress most firmly upon the mind of the community this fact, that no counterfeit or in any way red certificate has been used in the landing of Chinese laborers, nor has any certificate ever been used for a legitimate purpose that has not borne the lawful seal and signature of the Department, and among the 20,000 returned to and now on file in the Custom House and subjected to examination, no duplicate number or false certificate has ever been discovered. As to the general workings of the Restriction Act, we have to say that, in our judgment, it has served its purpose as well as a new law operating in an unaccustomed field could be expected to do. Gradually, and as the necessity thereof has become apparent in all departments, checks and counter-checks have been applied, until now the issuing of certificates and the landing of Chinese has been reduced to an almost mechanical system. In general support of the most important of foreign conclusions, we plant our feet firmly upon the official statement that we here append, and which relates to the arrival and departure of Chinese:

#### ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF CHINESE.

“ Departures, as per San Francisco records, from June 2, 1882, to October 31, 1885: Number of certificates issued, 36,501; number not called for and canceled, 2,458; number departed with certificates, 34,034; number departures without certificates, 3,250. Total departures from San Francisco, 37,293. Departures, as per record of other Custom Houses, from August 5, 1882, to July 31, 1885, 8,881. Whole number, 46,174. Add number of deaths (estimated), say 4,000. Grand total departures, 50,174. Arrivals, as per San Francisco Custom House, from August 5, 1882, to October 31, 1885, 18,017. As per records of other Custom Houses, from August 5, 1882, to July 31, 1885, 4,764—22,781. Excess of departures and deaths over arrivals, 27,393.

“ Thus, as an exhibit of practical results, the Custom House figures show that from 1852 to April 5, 1885, a period of thirty-three years, the excess of arrivals of Chinese in this port over

“ departures amounted to 162,225, while, on the contrary, in  
 “ the three years and a half since August 5, 1882, and under the  
 “ operation of the Restriction Act, statistics show an excess of  
 “ departures over arrivals of 27,393. Prior to the going into  
 “ effect of the Restriction Act there was a large and steady an-  
 “ nual increase of the Chinese population, while the past three  
 “ years show an equally steady decrease.

“ \* \* \* As to the Collector and Surveyor, and their part  
 “ in the enforcement of the Restriction Act, little need be said.  
 “ It is easy to look back and see what might and should have  
 “ been. But of this we are convinced: That the officers of the  
 “ Government have done the best they could under the circum-  
 “ stances to render the Act effective.

“ HENRY MOLINEUX,  
 “ NICHOLAS BICHARD,  
 “ THOMAS DOLLIVER,  
 “ W. J. HARRINGTON,  
 “ H. DUTARD,  
 “ JUDAH BAKER,  
 “ PETER DEAN.”

The Treasury Department sent an agent, General Spaulding, to fully investigate the workings of the Act. In his report it will be found that for a less period than the Grand Jury's report of two months, he makes the excess of departures over arrivals at 21,245, from August 1, 1882, to August 1, 1885.

There was also another report published, called the majority report of the United States Grand Jury, signed by the Secretary. But it was at once discovered that that report went back sixty days before the law went into effect, and included 12,559 arrivals previous to the Act taking effect. It is so necessary to mislead the people in all matters concerning the Chinese question, that this may be excusable. When this duplicity was exposed the *San Franciscan* commented as follows:

“ Consul Bee's figures are approximately correct, and in the  
 “ light they furnish, it is evident that the majority report of the  
 “ Grand Jury was but a bit of sharp practice carried out for  
 “ effect. The province of the Grand Jury was to examine into

" the working of the law, and the law reached back only to  
" August 4, 1882. There was, therefore, no reason for going  
" back to June 1—a date which had not the slightest connection  
" with the law. There is so much of obscurity connected with  
" the figures that an exact statement cannot be made, but the  
" room for the fraudulent issue of red certificates has been nar-  
" rowed down to a margin of a few hundred, and for the pres-  
" ent may be dismissed from consideration."

The data given the Grand Jury by the Chinese Consul, taken from the books of the Consulate, wherein a complete record is kept of the arrivals and departures of all Chinese, to and from this coast, was as follows: Total arrivals from August 1st, 1882 up to Oct. 20, 1885, 17,656; departures same period, 42,085, excess of departures over arrivals, 24,429. In the face of all the forgoing evidence, it is daily proclaimed that the law is a failure. With an annual decrease, including the death rate, of nearly 10,000 Chinese laborers since August 1, 1882, Congress is again called upon to enact more stringent measures for their exclusion. If the law, as administered, is a failure, the writer is able to suggest only one more method to make it conform to the wishes of our adopted citizens and their leaders, and that is for this government to transport these people back to China free of charge. If every Chinamen here had had the means to return to his country in the last three years, there were not facilities to transport them. A passage in the steerage from this port to Hongkong costs \$51. Hence it can be seen that for thirty-eight months since the restriction law went into effect, that the 42,085 Chinese who have departed for China, have paid the steamship companies for passage alone the sum, say of \$50 each, amounting to \$2,104,250.

The only official report made in reference to the enforcement of the Act, is that contained in "Ex. Doc., No. 62, 48th Congress, 2d session, Senate." It will be seen that for the first fifteen months under the operation of the law the excess of departures is given by the Collector of this port, over arrivals at 11,434. I leave the reader to judge whether the law is, as declared, a failure.

## HARDSHIP ENDURED BY THE EXEMPT CLASS.

Article IV. of the Angel treaty says: "If the measures (laws) as enacted are found to work hardships upon the subjects of China, the Chinese minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States."

It is undeniable that the difficulties and restrictions that surround the exempt class, from re-entering this port, are immeasurably beyond that required of the restricted laborer. There is not the slightest reference in the two Acts, nor in the bill now before Congress, in any manner, relating to resident Chinese merchants. Article II. says they shall "be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord." The writer has caused over two hundred writs of *habeas corpus* to be taken out before the United States Courts to enable well known merchants to re-enter this country. Many had branch mercantile houses in Honolulu, Panama, Mexico, and Victoria, British Columbia, that at stated periods needed their presence; residents here many of them for thirty years,—yet, after days of detention on board are compelled to appeal to the Courts. Ninety per cent of these cases had consular certificates issued by the Chinese Consulate at this port identifying the holder as a resident merchant. When one of this class desired to visit a foreign port, on making application to the Collector of the Port, he was informed that he must go to the Consulate for a certificate. Upon his return he is told that he cannot land, because there is nothing in the law relating to such a certificate. This persecution is in full force to-day, every Chinese merchant that comes to this port is compelled to sue out a writ; the cost in each case will average one hundred dollars. The United States judges before whom these writs are brought plainly denounce the action of these officials. Mr. Justice Field, in his opinion, in the case of Low Yam Chow, a Chinese merchant, after citing U. S. v. Kirby, 7th Wall., 481, and quoting from Carlisle v. U. S., 16th Wall., 153, said: "These cases would be sufficient to justify us in giving a construction to the Act under consideration in harmony with the supplementary treaty, even were the general terms used susceptible of a larger meaning. Its purpose will be held to

“ be, what the treaty authorized, to put a restriction upon the  
 “ emigration of laborers, including those skilled in any trade or  
 “ art, and not to interfere, by excluding Chinese merchants, or  
 “ putting unnecessary and embarrassing restrictions upon their  
 “ coming, with the commercial relations between China and  
 “ this country. Commerce with China is of the greatest value,  
 “ and is constantly increasing. And it should require some-  
 “ thing stronger than vague inferences to justify a construction  
 “ which would not be in harmony with that treaty, and which  
 “ would tend to lessen that commerce. *It would seem, however,*  
 “ *from reports of the action of certain officers of the government—*  
 “ *possessed of more zeal than knowledge—that it is their purpose to*  
 “ *bring this about, and thus make the act as odious as possible.*”

Hon. Ogden Hoffman, U. S. District Court, in a similar case says:

“ Nothing would more gratify the enemies of the bill than that  
 “ in its practical operation it should be found to be unreasonable,  
 “ unjust and oppressive. If Chinese merchants coming  
 “ here from all parts of the world are excluded because they  
 “ fail to produce a certificate impossible for them to obtain; if a  
 “ merchant long resident here and on his way to New York by  
 “ a route which for a short distance passes through Canada is  
 “ to be stopped at Niagara bridge for want of a certificate, and  
 “ on retracing his steps is to be stopped at Detroit on a similar  
 “ pretext, and on the ground that in each case he is to be re-  
 “ garded as coming to the United States from a foreign country,  
 “ within the true intent and meaning of the treaty and the law;  
 “ if a Chinese merchant similarly resident in this city, and de-  
 “ sirous of temporarily visiting British Columbia or Mexico is  
 “ to be refused, as it seems he must be, a certificate by the Cus-  
 “ tom House authorities, under Section 4, on the ground that  
 “ he is not a laborer, and on his return, after a few weeks ab-  
 “ sence, is to be prohibited from landing on the ground that he  
 “ has no certificate of identification issued by the Chinese Gov-  
 “ ernment under Section 6; if, in these and similar cases, the  
 “ operation of law is found to work manifest injustice, oppres-  
 “ sion, and absurdity, its repeal cannot long be averted.

“ I am satisfied that the friends of this law do it the best service by giving to it a reasonable and just construction, “ conformable to its spirit and intent and the solemn pledges “ of the treaty, and not one calculated to bring it into odium “ and disrepute.”

Such in brief are a tithe of the “ hardships ” that surround the exempt class, who, by solemn treaty obligations, are to go and come freely, without let or hindrance. As a matter of fact they are the prohibited class.

#### COMMERCE WITH CHINA AND CHINESE.

The value of exports and imports between this port and China for the year 1885, amounted to \$9,529,386, of this sum \$3,567,-947 was for exports, ninety per cent of which is done by Chinese.

Soon after the Burlingame Treaty was concluded California began to introduce flour into China, as a venture or experiment. From this has sprung up, from a few thousand barrels at that time to a continuous increase from year to year until it has reached the past year, 1885, the enormous quantity of 460,000 barrels. The increase in cotton cloth, ducks and drills, shipped from the northern and southern states is yearly on the increase, and is in a fair way to drive out the same line of goods so largely supplied heretofore by English manufacturers. To quote Justice Field, is it necessary to put “ embarrassing restrictions ” upon this growing commerce ?

#### HOW THE CHINESE IMPOVERISH THE COUNTRY.

It is charged over the whole coast continuously, iterated and reiterated by the press, that the Chinese impoverish the country, strip it of its coin by sending to China every dollar of their earnings. Circulars have been sent over the whole land that the Chinese laborers in California have abstracted hundreds of millions from the money wealth of the country. This foul and mendacious statement was sent forth to the country, first by a Committee of the California Legislature some years ago, and was then exploded by the *Commercial Herald*, the leading commercial paper of the Coast.

The only circulating medium in China is confined to Mexican dollars. A Chinese laborer going to China from this port, buys his ticket, and if he has gold coin to meet incidental expenses, he goes to a broker, and with the American coin buys Mexican dollars, which are to-day quoted at eighty-two; if he has one hundred dollars he will get one hundred and twenty-two dollars, or twenty-two dollars premium on his one hundred. Would any one take American gold to China when he can realize that premium here—he can buy Mexican in China, but not at that discount. Remittances are received here by leading and wealthy Chinese merchants to remit to China, from all over the country where there are Chinese. The writer prefers to give the facts, as to how a part of the coin of the realm goes out of the country, from an interview with one of the largest merchants doing business here.

“ Question. How much flour has your firm shipped to China the past year?

“ Answer. About 30,000 barrels.

“ Q. Do you receive coin from your clansmen to transmit to China?

“ A. Yes, a large amount; all the Chinese laborers send to their family firms here such sums as they save to be sent to their relations in China.

“ Q. How do you send the money?

“ A. We don’t send the coin; if we did it would be so much loss, as the premium on Mexican dollars is less in China than here. Our firm buys flour with these sums, and gives an order to our firm in Hongkong to pay to the parties the various sums deposited with us here in Mexican, there, less exchange.

“ Q. Suppose the remittances are larger than you care to invest in our products, what do you do with the balance?

“ A. Buy Mexican dollars and silver bullion. I think that our people shipped over \$8,000,000 of Mexican last year, in part to equalize trade.

“ Q. About how much silver bullion bars?

“ A. I think the *Chronicle* puts it at about \$3,000,000.

“ Q. How much gold coin of the United States?

" A. Very little. I don't think the Chinese shipped over \$100,000 coin, with a few thousands of gold dust, last year.

" Q. Then, a portion of the money earned by Chinese laborers, is invested in products of this country?

" A. Just as I have given it to you. Other firms pursue the same course. All the ginseng shipped is by the same method; nearly \$1,000,000 worth was sent from here to China last year."

I trust the foregoing will not be construed that I am apologizing for the Chinese laborer regarding the disposition of his hard earnings. Some one, no doubt, has reaped an equivalent for every dollar. If he had put it in circulation again through the gin-mills instead of his clansmen buying the products of the country with it, we would hear less of the impoverishment of the country.

#### CHINESE CHEAP LABOR

Is a delusion and a cheat, when applied to the Chinese on the Pacific Coast. The average wages of the Chinese farm hand is \$25 per month. On the railroad it is \$26 to \$30. As domestic servants, their pay is above the Caucasian. The average price paid Chinese cooks in this city is \$27.50 per month. House servants and waiters, \$22.50 per month, with board. Piece workers in the factories, such as cigars, boots, shoes and underwear, are better paid than the same class in the Eastern States. That the Eastern manufacturer can, and does, compete with Chinese so-called cheap labor, let the following show, with over three thousand miles of expensive transportation. It is claimed that the Chinese have monopolized the boot and shoe business, and that the white man is driven to the wall. Notwithstanding this, California has imported from the East the past four years 203,982 cases of boots and shoes.

With material to make candles cheaper than in any State of the Union, California imported the past four years 448,204 boxes. Of the article of soap, there has been imported here in two years past 3,561,130 pounds, and of starch 6,050,255 pounds, and so on through the list, in the face of Chinese cheap labor sophistry. The poor ignorant white man is told that the Chinese live on

ten cents a-day, because he eats rice. Rice is a luxury to the Chinese, like the potato to the Irishman and the macaroni to the Italian. Rice costs seven and a half cents per pound; flour is only two and a half cents. The Chinese laborer lives as well and eats as much meat, fish and vegetables as his white competitor. Nowhere in the United States is food as cheap and labor so dear as in California.

That distinguished historian and pioneer of the Pacific Coast, John S. Hittell, so ably discusses the

“**BENEFITS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION,**”

in an article in the February number of the *Overland Monthly*, that I quote a moiety from it, in conclusion:

“ The employment of Chinese has enabled capitalists to invest money in factories with safety, and to promptly dismiss such white laborers as would not work faithfully, and to give high wages to others. Gradually the proportion of whites increased. In 1865, four out of five operatives in the San Francisco woolen mills were Asiatics; now more than four out of five are white. By the aid of the Chinamen, thousands of whites have acquired the skill and the employment that now give them a comfortable support in San Francisco.

“ My second proposition is, that the same influences which made Chinese labor beneficial to the State ten and twenty years ago, still continue to predominate. The industry of California consists mainly in the production of raw material; a large part of her income is spent for the importation of manufactures, especially those of the finer qualities; which, because of large price in proportion to bulk, can bear the expense of long and costly transportation. Our food is the cheapest, and our manufactured articles generally the dearest in the civilized world.

“ The natural resources of California are far from being fully developed; her territory far from being fully occupied. Out of 100,000,000 acres, not 10,000,000 are cultivated. Out of 10,000,000 susceptible of irrigation, not 1,000,000 are supplied. Millions of acres fit for the prune, the olive, the almond, the fig,

*"the apricot, or the vine, are lying neglected, because agricultural labor is twice as dear here as in Illinois, and three times as dear as in Europe. Sixteen counties, with an aggregate area larger than that of any one of half a dozen European kingdoms, are inaccessible by rail, or are touched only at the borders. Any influence that largely develops the industry of the State, that makes roads and builds factories, that plants orchards and vineyards, must give more employment and better wages to laborers than they would have otherwise: and especially to white men, who have a monopoly of many kinds of skill, resulting from familiarity with the language, machinery, and laws of the country, and besides immense advantages from superior privileges of citizenship, landownership, and personal security."*

In the foregoing I have endeavored to present as briefly as possible the other side of the Chinese question. As Americans we boast of our freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press. In this connection it is undeniable, that this Chinese agitation on the Pacific Coast has reached that point where it has become analogous to the discussion of the question of slavery, thirty years ago in the south, *ex parte*. Notwithstanding,

I am your obedient servant,

FRED. A. BEE.

San Francisco, Feb. 8th, 1886.

## APPENDIX.

Since the foregoing was in type, the Associated Press sent the following to the press of California:

WASHINGTON, February 7th.

“ A few days ago the President of the Women’s National  
“ Industrial League started for the capital in search of Hon.  
“ Mr. Morrow of California, and having found him, she said:  
“ ‘I have been engaged in the preparation of a lengthy article  
“ on the Chinese, and by investigation I find that in many cases  
“ they have driven white people from business, and that many  
“ branches of industry in San Francisco have passed from the  
“ individuals and firms who had control of the different trades  
“ and occupations into the hands of Chinese. The Chinese do  
“ not come here as citizens; they take no interest in the institu-  
“ tions of our country, and the money they accumulate here  
“ they send back to China to enrich the coffers of their heathen  
“ empire. There are admitted to be 200,000 on the Pacific  
“ Coast, and admitting that each earns \$1 per day, which is not  
“ an exaggeration, and admitting that one-third of that amount  
“ is turned back to the industries of the State (by way of China),  
“ you will still have going out of the State to China \$100,000 a  
“ day, \$3,000,000 a month, \$40,000,000 a year—in ten years,  
“ \$400,000,000, one-fifth of the total debt of the United States,  
“ forever sucked out of the country and deposited in far away  
“ China—to return to us no more. What a drain on the re-  
“ sources of the State. It is almost incredible, but still ‘tis true.  
“ Am I correct in my statements, Mr. Morrow?”

“ ‘Yes,’ answered the Representative, ‘we suffer all the ills you  
“ have enumerated and many more. The bills I have offered,  
“ if passed, will prevent the further immigration of Chinese into  
“ our country. What we shall do with the thousands congreg-  
“ ated in Chinatown and throughout the State time alone will  
“ determine.’ ”

*The Commercial Herald* and *Market Review* the leading commercial paper of California, in its issue of Nov. 29th, 1877, said in reply to a circular which contained not one-half of the falsehood of the above dispatch, which is endorsed as true, by Mr. Congressman Morrow:

“THE CHINESE QUESTION AGAIN.

“When we catch a person telling lies to make us believe he is  
 “stating facts we are very apt to credit him with bad motives.  
 “For some time past it has been bandied about the halls of  
 “Congress, and circulated among the credulous of Eastern  
 “cities, that the Chinese laborers in California have abstracted  
 “from the money wealth of this State not less than *one hundred*  
 “*and eighty millions of dollars*, while they have contributed  
 “*nothing* to the State or National wealth. This foul and singu-  
 “larly mendacious statement is to be found in a circular issued  
 “as an address to the people of the United States by a Commit-  
 “tee of a former California Legislature. Its falsity is easily  
 “demonstrated.”

Then follows the entire shipment of treasure to China for fifteen years, the whole amount being less than \$100,000,000. The comments of the editor are so applicable to the foregoing press dispatch that I let him say it for me:

“It is an insult to the common sense of every man in the na-  
 “tion. The Legislative circular—which should bring a blush  
 “of shame upon the cheeks of its authors—furthermore alleges  
 “that ‘the Chinese have contributed *nothing* to the State or  
 “National wealth.’ We challenge anything like honest refuta-  
 “tion of the statement that had it not been for ‘Chinese cheap  
 “labor,’ California would to-day be very far below the condition  
 “of prosperity and advancement she can now boast of possess-  
 “ing. Through its agency, we have built up industry upon  
 “industry, and have established the manufacture of many  
 “articles for which we would otherwise be dependent upon out-  
 “side sources of supply. It was largely through that agency  
 “that railroad communications have been had with the East,  
 “and have laced a large portion of this State, by means of

“ which Caucasian immigration has been induced, immense  
 “ tracts laid open to settlement, numerous farms brought under  
 “ tillage, flourishing towns started where formerly the coyote  
 “ and prairie dog held sole occupation, and the hum of thrift  
 “ and industry has succeeded the silence of the desert. Have  
 “ these things contributed *nothing* to the State and National  
 “ wealth ?”

The San Francisco *Chronicle*, in its annual report on the  
 “ Commerce of California,” gives the entire shipment to China  
 for 1885, as follows:

“ How DISTRIBUTED.

“ During the past year the shipments of treasure by sea were  
 “ made to the following-named countries:

“ To China—

“ Silver bars.....	\$2,998,160
“ Mexican dollars.....	9,059,814
“ Gold coin .....	312,738
“ Gold dust .....	40,505
“ Silver coin.....	25,050
“ Total.....	<hr/> \$12,436,267”

To make it plainer that the Chinese do not ship the above amount of treasure, I quote from the *Alta California* the shipment by the last steamer, which is a fair average by every steamer. It will be seen that only \$175,000 went to China:

“ The shipments of treasure yesterday, to China, per steamer  
 “ City of Rio de Janeiro, were as follows:

“ Denomination.	Value.
“ Silver bullion.....	\$230,693 04
“ Mexican dollars.....	203,245 00
“ Gold coin.....	770 00
“ Gold dust.....	1,110 40
“ Total.....	<hr/> \$435,818 44

“ The bank shipments were as follows: To Yokohama, by  
 “ Bank of California, silver bullion, \$148,343 04. To Bombay,

“ by Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, silver bars, \$48,000. To  
“ Yokohama, Mexican dollars, \$43. To Bombay, by Comptoir  
“ d'Escompte de Paris, silver bars, \$21,270. To Hongkong,  
“ silver bars, \$18,080; Mexican dollars, \$50,000. To Hongkong,  
“ by Anglo-California Bank, Mexican dollars, \$83,000. By Chi-  
“ nese, Mexican dollars, \$22,245, and \$1,880 40 in gold dust  
“ and coin.”

Can it be wondered at that Senator Morton refers to the “ exaggerated statements” concerning these people when a Congressman says “ Yes,” when asked if there are 200,000 Chinamen on the Pacific Coast? The census of 1880 showed there were then in the United States 105,247 Chinese. There are not now over 65,000 in California. Washington Territory agitators declared there were 12,000 in that Territory alone. As it is necessary to have a certain population to be admitted into the Union as a State, the officials ordered a census in 1885, and the returns show a resident population of 3,030 Chinese. United States troops are to-day *en route* to that territory to protect the people from that invasion.

San Francisco, February 9, 1886.

F. A. B.















